

MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY,

FOR

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For the Anthology.

REMARKER, No. 28.

Quot frutrices Sylvæ, quot flavas Tiberis arenas,
Millia quot Martis gramina campus habet,
Tot mala pertulimus ! quorum medicina quiesque
Nulla nisi in studio est, Pieridumque mora.

Ovid. Tristia.

It is observed by philosophers, that in proportion as our knowledge of nature becomes more extensive and exact, the simplicity of all her operations becomes more evident. Every new investigation discovers new relations, unfolds new affinities, and displays new points of resemblance between substances apparently the most dissimilar, and the theory revived by Newton and Boscovich is no longer considered visionary, which supposes all the varieties of external nature to be only modifications of the same primary matter. What, indeed, may not be expected, when we find it demonstrated that water contains a large portion of the most combustible principle in nature ; and that charcoal and the diamond are only varieties of the same elementary substance ? Yet with all this simplicity it is curious to remark, that there is no identity ; that nature never exactly repeats her own productions ; never copies herself. The leaf of this tulip is a little more deeply and delicately tinged than that of yours, and a minute observer will detect some latent and almost imperceptible shades of difference between

your rose and mine. The same uniformity and the same variety is visible in the intellectual, as in the natural world. The minds of all men seem to have been originally cast in similar moulds ; and the incomparable Hartley has shown how plausibly all the mental phenomena may be explained by the application of the single theory of association. The particular diversity of men's minds is even more remarkable than their general similarity, and the proposition is assented to as soon as it is proposed, that no two men are in all respects exactly alike. This variety is nowhere more obvious than in the difference of our habits of investigation and thought ; and the Remarker, with the leave of his readers, intends to amuse himself by employing this month's speculation in considering the various classes of thinkers among mankind.

Rousseau makes but one sweeping division of our race, into those who think and those who never think ; but the thought is hardly brilliant enough to atone for its want of accuracy. There are, to be sure, many, who, as they never appear to think rationally, seem

scarcely to have a claim to the dignity of intellectual beings; yet, as they have been included in every definition of man, which has ever been made, and as it would be difficult to prove them to be any thing else, if you deny them to be men, we must from necessity, if not from courtesy, admit that they are members of the species. 'God made them, and therefore let them pass for men.' Yet of that class of beings, such as, for instance, the fop, the belle, and hoc genus omne, who float loosely on the current of life, mere idle gazers on the light of heaven, without regard for the past, or care for the future. Of those, too, such as your men of luxury and pleasure, who reverse the design of nature, and make mind the slave of sense, who employ their mental powers only as the ministers of passion and the panders of indulgence; of those, in fine, whose powers seem merely sensitive and mechanical, who spend their lives in calculations of immediate interest, without hope or fear beyond the acquisition of wealth; of such beings it is indeed difficult to conceive, as sharers of the same powers, and capable of the same designs, with those who have employed their lives in labouring in the cause of wisdom, virtue, and truth. It would be absurd to waste a moment in ascertaining the rank of men, thus feeble, effeminate, and degraded, in the scale of thinking beings. We will pass, therefore, to the consideration of the class of those, whom I shall denominate the *superficial thinkers*.

There are some mental qualities, which it is not uncommon to hear men acknowledge that they do not possess. There are many, for instance, who, from real or assumed humility, will confess that

they want the fancy of poetry, or the vivacity of wit; but the records of literature and of life do not furnish an instance of one, who was willing to believe that he wanted the power of thinking justly and profoundly. Yet every man, who has exercised his faculties in the investigation of truth, knows that to be an original and philosophick thinker is the most difficult of all attainments. When we consider the difficulty of comprehending at one view a subject in all its bearings and dependences; of separating those circumstances which fairly affect a conclusion, from those which are accidental and superinduced; of balancing the opposing probabilities, which the ambiguity of language and the artifices of ingenuity create; of following all the windings, and disentangling all the multiplied involutions of error; of anticipating and fairly appreciating all possible objections; in short, of contemplating right and wrong at one survey in their general, invariable, and abstracted state;—it must be allowed, that to be a great and original thinker, calls for the highest exercise of all the nobler faculties of our minds. It requires a man self-collected and independent, superiour to passion, to prejudice, and sloth; humble yet not mean, active yet patient, bold yet cautious, persevering, fearless, and decisive, neither to be dazzled by novelty, ensnared by cunning, nor seduced by plausibility. For a man of the most resplendent powers to become a thinker of this description is no light task; it is not wonderful, therefore, that great thinkers are few. To think profoundly is always toilsome; and this sufficiently explains why the majority of those who think at all should think loosely and superfi-

cially. To doubt, too, is always painful, and this sufficiently explains why most men should leave the labour of investigation to others, and press hastily and rashly to confident conclusions. If I might be allowed to adopt the language of metaphysicks, I should say, that most men seem impatient to lose the liberty of indifference, and catch at the first motive, which has weight enough to make the intellectual balance preponderate, without stopping to consider, whether there are no objections, which may affect the opposite scale.

It might be supposed, that those, who thus think superficially, would at least not decide dogmatically ; yet exactly the reverse is usually found to be true. The credulous, who is too timid, and the sceptick, who is too vain to doubt long and patiently, are always confident and exclusive in their opinions. As they arrive at the conclusions, which they hold, not by balancing, and analyzing, and comparing arguments, but by adopting some guide, whose boldness has overawed, whose wit has fascinated, or whose plausibility has ensnared them ; and as of course their minds are nearly passive, while the premises are presented to them, their conclusions are implicitly and peremptorily adopted. As in such an investigation they have felt no objection themselves, by a very natural operation of self-love they believe, that none can exist, and therefore they, without hesitation, pronounce, that all who disagree with them, must take their choice between the epithets of fool or knave. It is not uncommon to find the superstructure of such men's faith more lofty and broad, in exact proportion as the foundation of it is weaker and more narrow.

It may, indeed, almost be assumed as an universal truth, that they are always most presumptuous, whose opinions have the least support ; and that those only lay claim to infallibility, who are farthest from truth. A man must know something of the difficulty of investigation before he can conceive of the possibility of erring in important subjects, without intention and without crime.

There is another class of men, not much superiour in intellectual dignity, but for a very different reason. Those are superficial, because they read too little, but these because they read too much. I mean to speak of the mere readers of books, of those whose views terminate in the bare contemplation of other men's ideas, and who never dream that reading is only valuable, as it furnishes materials of thought. The sentence of Plautus, when applied to such men, almost ceases to be a paradox, *nesciunt id quod sciunt*. They often succeed in accumulating immense masses of learning, but their learning is always heavy, sluggish, and unproductive ; we may admire it, as we do a pyramid, for its magnitude, but after all, when we examine it closely, we only see one huge stone piled on another, without object and without use. It is needless to point out any of the individuals of this class ; for we find them in every profession. My gay readers, I suppose, will be disposed to single out their examples from among the mathematicians ; and it is not to be denied that the mathematicians have their share of them. Let us not, however, join in the common cant of ignorance and frivolity. We must allow, indeed, that a man may know the mere practice of mathematicks, without possessing any

other earthly knowledge. But the difference between such a man and a philosophical mathematician is exactly the same, as between the drudge who learns an art, and the genius who invents the theory on which it is founded. For myself, I am almost disposed to believe D'Alembert, when he asserts* that there is as much exercise of imagination in Geometry as in Poetry, and that, of all the great men of antiquity, Archimedes has the highest claims to be placed by the side of Homer.

I return now from this digression to the consideration of a class of men of nobler powers and more exalted claims, but who must, notwithstanding, be denominated the *visionary thinkers*. These are men, in whom imagination predominates; who always think ingeniously, but seldom solidly; who are so busy in seeking what is uncommon and remote, that they often neglect what is obvious and important; who delight to refine, and distinguish, and invent, more than to weigh, to compare, and combine; men, in short, who will teach you what Goldsmith means by 'cutting blocks with a razor,'

* L'imagination dans un Géometre, qui crée n'agit pas moins que dans un Poète, qu'invente. Il est vrai, qu'ils opèrent différemment sur leur objet; le premier le dépouille et l'analyse, le second le compose et embellit. Il est encore vrai, que cette manière différente d'opérer n'appartient qu'à différentes sortes d'esprits; et c'est pour cela, que les talens du grand Géometre et du grand Poète ne se trouveront peut-être jamais ensemble. Mais soit qu'ils s'excluent, ou ne s'excluent pas l'un de l'autre, ils ne sont nullement en droit de se mépriser réciproquement. De tous les grands hommes de l'antiquité, Archimède est peut-être celui qui mérite le plus d'être placé à côté d'Homère. — *Discours Préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie*, p. 16.

and what Shakespeare may be supposed to mean by 'cavilling on the ninth part of a hair.' Of this class you commonly find poets, when they attempt to become reasoners; when they lay aside the full and flowing robes of the prophets, and put on the cap and gown of the logician. Who needs to be referred for an illustration of this to the slender, yet subtle, speculations of Lucretius, to the ingenious refinements of Cowley, or to the unintelligible metaphysics of Milton? To this class, rather than to any other, I should refer the reasoners from feeling and imagination more than from judgment and evidence. Here, then, I should rank Rousseau; and here, too, forgive me, ye his idolaters! here too, with hesitation and trembling, I should place the name of Burke.

De Retz, in his memoirs, describes a man of *extension*, but without *comprehension* of mind; and this distinction must be kept in view in order to appreciate the next class, which I shall notice, and who may be called the *acute or metaphysical thinkers*. This is principally composed of those who reason so much, that they forget to feel; who are so much philosophers, that they cease to be men. They are seldom great enough to look down on the fame, which is raised merely on novelty and boldness of speculation, and their ingenuity is continually exercised and perverted in seeking after something, which may dazzle by its originality, and startle and confound by its opposition to established opinions. The few scepticks, who have not been so from fashion and vanity, have always been men of this class. They reason too well not to discover, that reason is limited and weak; but this knowledge of their ignor-

ance, instead of teaching them in patience and humbleness to wait till the designs of Providence are developed and justified in a better life,* only draws from them repinings at the evils of life, doubts of the goodness and even the existence of God, and all the vain and presumptuous struggles of 'reasoning pride' against the wisdom which ties it down to imperfection, and the earth.† These are the men whom Burke intends, when he talks of the 'thorough-bred metaphysicians.' They are men, who always carry their distinctions and abstractions about them; they bring metaphysick from the head, and introduce it into the bosom; they will theorize to you upon charity, and refine, and speculate, and distinguish upon mercy and love. They are men, who always breathe an atmosphere different from ours; they live in the loftier regions of a mountain, above, indeed, some of our clouds; but then the snows are eternal there, the air is too rarified for human life, and the flower, and the bud, and the fruit wither and die. Such are all the

* See Hume's Dialogues on Natural Religion, passim.

† There has always been a remarkable inconsistency in the conduct of scepticks. If a man, after slow and deep meditation, is compelled to believe, that the world is the offspring of chance, he ought, one would think, to doubt in silence and sorrow. Since he cannot enjoy the consolation of believing that he is under the protection of a God, his philosophy, if not his humanity, ought to teach him not to disturb the consolations of others. But the sceptick is always found to be desirous of making proselytes, and fortifying his own hesitating belief by the assent of others. An apostate always hates the religion he has renounced.

Le temple l'importune, & son impiété
Voudroit anéantir le Dieu qu'il a
quitté. *Racine—Athalie.*

disciples of Pyrrho, such were Spinoza, and Hobbes, and Collins, and Hume. There are some men, however, who seem to fall naturally into the class of acute and metaphysical thinkers, who yet are exceptions to most of these remarks. They are men, whose feeling has not been strangled by speculation, who have all that we admire in the men I have named, with nothing that we dread and detest. They usually reason wisely and solidly, always ingeniously, though sometimes fancifully. Of this description I suppose were Berkely, Descartes, and Leibnitz.

We have now arrived at the last and least numerous class which I shall consider. I mean the profound and philosophick thinkers; the rare and sublime spirits, which are occasionally given to the earth by providence, to rectify the opinions of mankind, to redress the evils, which the pride and presumption of inferiour natures have introduced, and to vindicate the wisdom, the harmony, and benevolence of the arrangement of the universe. They survey man and nature from an eminence, high enough to raise them above the passions and prejudices of the world, but yet not so lofty and remote as to make them mistake the nature and destination of our race, or to remove them from a share in our feelings and hopes. Their theories are therefore as simple and practicable, as they are comprehensive and sublime. These men have none of the vanity of inferiour minds, none of the pomp of philosophy, none of the arrogance of learning; they alone, of all the world, seem ignorant of their own august powers. It is not necessary to repeat the names of any of these men; for the number of them is too small to make

it possible to mistake in appropriating this description. It is a remark which I cannot refuse to make, for it is one, which no man can suppress, who is interested in the success of that religion, which, if true, is of all things most interesting to mankind, that there is no one, whom even a candid sceptick would venture to place among these men, who did not give his belief and support to christianity; no one, whose genius was not ennobled by the humility, and whose learning was not consecrated by the piety of the gospel.

There are men, who seem to partake of some of the qualities of the individuals which compose all the classes I have made; and therefore who cannot, in strict propriety, be ranked exclusively under either of them. Of these, some want sufficient activity, and some sufficient amplitude of mind, to enlarge greatly the boundaries of

human knowledge; others, who want neither industry nor powers, diffuse their minds over too wide a surface, and attempt to embrace too great a multitude of objects; they drink from all the wells of science, without sounding any to their depth. Among these may be found many minds, elegant and classical, acute and comprehensive. But it would be quite without my design, if it were not beyond my powers, to classify all these varieties of excellence, and distinguish all their shades of difference and defect. If I have succeeded in observing some of the general divisions of the thinking part of mankind, and seized some of their more obvious and strongly marked characteristics, I have fulfilled my vocation; for who demands a system from an essayist, or who expects philosophy from one, whose ambition is contented with the praise of a Remarker?

RT. HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

The following character of Mr. Fox is copied from the *Bombay Courier* of the 17th January. It is ascribed to Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH.

MR. Fox united, in a most remarkable degree, the seemingly repugnant characters of the mildest of men and the most vehement of orators. In private life he was gentle, modest, placable, kind, of simple manners, and so averse from parade and dogmatism, as to be not only unostentatious, but even somewhat inactive in conversation. His superiority was never felt but in the instruction which he imparted, or in the attention which his generous presence usually directed to the more obscure members of the company. The sim-

plicity of his manners was far from excluding that perfect urbanity and amenity which flowed still more from the mildness of his nature, than from familiar intercourse with the most polished society of Europe. His conversation, when it was not repressed by modesty or indolence, was delightful. The pleasantry, perhaps, of no man of wit had so unlaboured an appearance. It seemed rather to escape from his mind than to be produced by it. He had lived on the most intimate terms with all his contemporaries distinguished

by wit, politeness, or philosophy, or learning, or the talents of public life. In the course of thirty years he had known almost every man in Europe whose intercourse could strengthen, or enrich, or polish the mind. His own literature was various and elegant. In classical erudition, which, by the custom of England, is more peculiarly called learning, he was inferior to few professed scholars. Like all men of genius, he delighted to take refuge in poetry, from the vulgarity and irritation of business. His own verses were easy and pleasing, and might have claimed no low place among those which the French call *Vers de Société*. The poetical character of his mind was displayed in his extraordinary partiality for the poetry of the two most poetical nations, or at least languages of the West, those of the Greeks and the Italians. He disliked political conversation, and never willingly took any part in it. To speak of him justly, as an orator, would require a long essay. Every where natural, he carried into publick something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time, than he was changed into another being. He forgot himself and every thing around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and conviction. He certainly pos-

sessed, above all moderns, that union of *reason, simplicity, and vehemence*, which formed the prince of orators. He was the most *Demosthenean* speaker since Demosthenes. 'I knew him,' says Mr. Burke, in a pamphlet written after their unhappy difference, 'when he was nineteen: since which time he has risen, by slow degrees, to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater that the world ever saw.' The quiet dignity of a mind, roused only by great objects, the absence of petty bustle, the contempt of shew, the abhorrence of intrigue, the plainness and downrightness, and the thorough good nature, which distinguished Mr. Fox, seem to render him no very unfit representative of that old English national character, which, if it ever changed, we should be sanguine indeed to expect to see succeeded by a better. The simplicity of his character inspired confidence, the ardour of his eloquence roused enthusiasm, and the gentleness of his manners invited friendship. 'I admired,' says Mr. Gibbon, 'the powers of a superiour man, as they are blended, in his attractive character, with all the softness and simplicity of a child: no human being was ever more free from any taint of malignity, vanity, or falsehood.'—From these qualities of his publick and private character, it probably arose, that no English statesman ever preserved, during so long a period of adverse fortune, so many affectionate friends, and so many zealous adherents. The union of ardour in publick sentiment, with mildness in social manners, was in Mr. Fox an hereditary quality. The same fascinating power over the attachment of all who came within his sphere, is said to have belonged to his fa-

ther; and those who know the survivors of another generation, will feel that this delightful quality is not yet extinct in the race.

Perhaps nothing can more strongly prove the deep impression made by this part of Mr. Fox's character, than the words of Mr. Burke, who, in January, 1797, six years after all intercourse between them had ceased, speaking to a person honoured with some degree of Mr. Fox's friendship, said, '*To be sure he is a man made to be loved!*' and these emphatical words were uttered with a fervour of manner which left no doubt of their heart-felt sincerity.

These few hasty and honest sentences are sketched in a temper too sober and serious for intentional exaggeration, and with too pious an affection for the memory of Mr. Fox to profane it by intermixtures with the factious brawls and wrangles of the day.

His political conduct belongs to history. The measures which he supported or opposed may divide the opinion of posterity, as they have divided those of the present age. But he will most certainly command the unanimous reverence of future generations, by his pure sentiments towards the commonwealth, by his zeal for the civil and religious rights of all men, by his liberal principles, favourable to mild government, to the unfettered exercise of the human faculties, and the progressive civilization of mankind; by his ardent love for a country of which the well-being and greatness were indeed inseparable from his own glory, and by his profound reverence for that free constitution, which he was universally admitted to understand better than any other man of his age, both in an exactly legal, and in a comprehensively philosophical sense.

For the Anthology.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

From an American Traveller in Europe to his Friends in this Country.

LETTER TWELFTH.

Naples, Jan. 2d, 1805.

MY DEAR SISTER,

THE country around Naples was originally settled by the Greeks, and was known by the ancients under the name of Magna Græcia. Possessing a mild and delightful climate, a volcanick soil, and the most enchanting landscapes, it was always a favourite spot with the Roman Poets, and in the later times of luxury and effeminacy it became the fashionable resort of the rich and voluptuous. Always subject to volcanick eruptions, its

bosom inclosing a great variety of metallick substances in a state of chemical change, it has in all ages exhibited phenomena, which have either arrested the attention of the philosopher, or contributed to the gratification of the sensualist.

In a great variety of places in this neighbourhood are to be found hot springs, and warm vapours, which the Romans converted to purposes of luxury or health, but which their indolent successors wholly neglect.

About six miles from Naples, on the beautiful bay of Baia, stands

the ancient town of Puteoli, by corruption now called Puzzuoli. This city was in former times respectable, but by earthquakes and volcanoes the face of Nature has been so changed, that little remains of its ancient splendour. There are still, however, some vast ruins, which project into the ocean, and which are by the vulgar called the Bridge of Caligula, but which the antiquaries have decided to be the remains of the ancient mole, which formed the port. To an American this idea of forming an *artificial port* is, happily for our country, a strange one. Nature has been so liberal in its indentations of our coast; our harbours are so naturally defended, either by promontories or islands, that we have no necessity to form *artificial* defences against the ravages of tempests. In the European world, and particularly in the Mediterranean, it is far otherwise. Almost every port in this part of Italy is directly open to the inroads of the ocean, and the inhabitants owe their security to artificial, not to natural boundaries. These moles, the most *expensive*, are in some instances the most *stupendous* works of ancient or modern times. It is probable, that the ruins, which they call *Caligula's bridge*, were a part of the mole of this city, which, in those days, was a very considerable one; but there is a colour for the opinion of the vulgar, as it is conceded, that Caligula *did* build a bridge in the same direction over the bay of Baia, to connect the city of that name with Puzzuoli, or Puteoli. That weak and wicked monster took a fancy to imitate the naval triumph of Xerxes, and did accordingly construct a bridge of boats from Baia to Puteoli, a distance of three miles, over which

he passed in splendid triumph for three successive days.

Near Puzzuoli there is also a ruin of a temple of Jupiter Serapis, which from the size and elegance of the pillars must have been a splendid edifice. The remains of an amphitheatre, which are also found in an unquestionable shape, serve to shew how widely and universally the spirit of luxury and dissipation pervaded every part of the Roman dominions. I do not recollect, that I have seen one considerable city, which could not show some relicks of an amphitheatre.

Near Baia you are shown some huge and mishapen ruins, which they call the baths of Nero. All this part of the territory of Naples has been so repeatedly convulsed by earthquakes, or covered with the ashes of volcanoes, that it is very difficult to trace with any accuracy the position of ancient edifices. A great variety of compartments and brick arches render it highly probable, that this was really what vulgar tradition has represented it. Entering a low grotto, which was evidently an antique arch, you pursue an artificial passage, which rapidly descends towards these celebrated springs. As soon as you enter, you encounter a hot and suffocating vapour, which the strongest man could not long support. The guides, accustomed to this office, are stripped to the skin, and even in this situation they come out in a state of violent perspiration. I found however, that the warm vapour, being specifically lighter than the cool atmospherick air, ascended to the top of the passage, and that, by passing down with the head near the ground, one would avoid the insupportable heat of the superiour vapour. The heat of

the water, which issues out, is so great, that it will boil eggs in the period of time usually allowed; and after the water had been brought out in a vessel into the open air, it was too hot to permit you to keep your hand in it for the space of a second. I regret, that I had not a thermometer with me, but I entertain no doubt, that it was at the *boiling* point. What must be the internal state of the earth, which could produce so powerful a heat? And what must be the dangerous state of a country, undermined by such incessant and violent fires? This spring is however eighteen miles distant from Vesuvius, and the city of Naples intervenes. Either then the awful phenomena of Vesuvius extend under the *city* of Naples to this spot, or the city has a distinct subterraneous enemy on the side of Baia as well as of Vesuvius. As you return from Baia to Naples, on the bay of Baia, you pass a very considerable mountain, called the Monte Nuovo, and which was wholly the product of a volcano in the 16th century. The spot, on which it stands, was a lake, called the Lucrine lake, and the country around it was level and fertile. On a sudden, after the usual presages of thunders and earthquakes, a most awful volcanick eruption took place, which in a very short space of time threw up sufficient matter to form this mountain. It is a regular, handsome hill. For nearly a century after its formation its dry and arid surface refused sustenance to vegetables; but at present it is covered with verdant shrubbery, and forms one of the brightest ornaments of this enchanting bay.

Advancing still nearer to Naples, you meet with one of the most extraordinary hills in this

land of wonders. It is called *Solfaterra* from the nature of its production, which is sulphur. The whole hill is one vast mass of sulphur and mineral productions. The very surface and the stones are of a bright sulphureous colour. The ground is hollow, and resounds under your feet. From innumerable crevices a sulphurous vapour, of the most fetid nature, is perpetually ascending. Dig a few inches into the ground, and the heat is too intolerable to permit you to keep your hand in it. Silver is instantly discoloured, if placed in any such opening. In some spots smoke and fire ascend in sufficient quantities to enable the workmen to prepare the sulphur and the salts, which they collect here.

Without the least human exertion, that I could perceive, except the erection of some stone or brick flues, sulphur, alum, and sal ammoniac, were collected in a perfect state.

This spot is not more than five miles west of Naples. It has been in this state for centuries, and only experiences changes with the phenomena of Vesuvius. *It is said, at least, that, during the eruptions of that mountain, Solfaterra emits an unusual quantity of smoke.* The fact is too material in the natural history of this volcano to be admitted on slight evidence.

I think, however, I have introduced sufficient sulphureous exhalations for one letter, so I shall defer the further consideration of this *warm* subject till another occasion.

On the whole, if Naples has not all the rich variety of Rome, it has wonders and curiosities of another species, which render it equally interesting. I wish I may suc-

ceed in rendering it so to my friends.

The prevalence of cloudy weather has prevented my visiting Vesuvius, or Pompeia, and the holidays have equally deprived me of the pleasure of examining the antiquities, collected at Portici. There are more embarrassments in the way of access to the curiosities of Naples, than to those of any part of Europe. You cannot enter a museum or palace, without a special license from the crown, which can only be obtained from some diplomattick character. I owe my permissions to the civility of the British ambassadour, our nation having no minister here ; but since I have obtained them, the publick places have been closed.—This jealousy is, in my opinion, a *Spanish* trait, this family, you know, being of the royal family of Spain, the present king of Naples being the son of Charles III. the last king of Spain.

Before I can proceed to give you any account of the impressions made upon me by the other curiosities of Naples, not noticed in my former letters, I will state such miscellaneous facts and anecdotes with relation to this country, as may serve to amuse you during a leisure hour. I am sensible however, that you can scarcely meet with a writer, who will not give you a much more correct picture of the Neapolitan character, than I can pretend to do ; yet I know, that there is some degree of satisfaction in receiving information directly from a friend, whose credibility we know how to estimate. On whatever I relate, as of my own knowledge, you may rely ; and whenever an author states any facts, contrary to my own observations, I shall particularly notice it.

The weakness and inactivity of the king of Naples have been the subject of remark by every writer, who has visited this country, for thirty years past. His disgraceful flight and desertion of his realm, which he might have defended, when invaded by Macdonald at the head of his French freebooters, were not calculated to contradict the prevailing opinions of his imbecility. Still, however, I was determined to inquire if the facts warranted these rumours to his disadvantage. The king of Naples has, without doubt, pretty good sense ; but having been under a long regency in consequence of his coming to the throne while very young, he acquired a passion for hunting, an aversion to business, an indifference to fame, and even honour, which have been the bane of his subjects, and the ruin of one of the finest kingdoms in Europe. No country in the world possesses richer materials for national grandeur, than Naples. The people are hardy, healthy, and even brave, when duly excited and properly directed. The territory is the most fertile in Europe. It has an immense extent of sea-coast, and in Sicily the best harbours in the world. It produces more grain than it can consume. It exports wine, oil, salt, salted provisions, cotton, and silk. It has all the materials for war. It produces all the metals, and no one can doubt, that it has sulphur and nitre sufficient to *blow up* all its enemies.

With all these advantages it is the weakest and most degraded government in Europe, and is governed by the worst policy, both with regard to its *foreign* connections and its *internal* regulations, as I shall take occasion to notice in the various desultory remarks, which

I shall hereafter make. At present I return to the royal family.

The king of Naples is married to the daughter of one of the best and greatest women who ever honoured a sceptre, Maria Theresa, the empress queen. The late king of France, you will recollect, married another daughter. Abandoned to trivial amusements, not honourable to a private man when they become *employments* instead of relaxations, the king of Naples trembled when he saw ruin impending over the other branches of his family, and stalking with rapid strides towards his devoted realm. Unaccustomed to any warfare, except against the beasts of the field, or the birds of the air, he shrunk under the apprehension of a more honourable contest; and though he possessed a numerous, well appointed, and I believe if properly commanded, a brave army, he deserted the defence of his capital, and basely fled to Sicily, and placed himself under the safeguard of the British squadron, then protecting those seas.

That the retreat was unnecessary was fully proved by the sequel. The cardinal Ruffo, an ecclesiastic, a man of bravery and virtue, went into Calabria, and by his spirited exhortations and anathemas against those infidels the *French*, roused the hardy mountaineers, inspired them with a zeal for their liberties and religion, and marching at their head, in his ecclesiastical habiliments, entered Naples at the head of 40,000 men, forced the garrison to capitulate, and drove the French troops out of the kingdom. Soon after which the king of Naples appeared off the city with a British fleet, commanded by lord Nelson, and a scene took place, which has stamped the character of the king of Naples (or

his queen) and of all others, who were accessory to it, with indelible infamy. Lord Nelson himself does not wholly escape censure in this country, and I wish that an impartial biographer may undertake to support, and nourish in verdure the laurels, which so many well-earned victories had wreathed around his brow. The anecdote is interesting, as it affects royal and elevated characters. The authenticity of the *facts* I shall state, is unquestionable. It is very possible they may admit *some alleviation*, perhaps justification, on the part of lord Nelson. When a man has acquired so great a name, one ought to admit censures with distrust.

I first heard the story from a Roman gentleman of honour and reputation, but I repelled the attack on lord Nelson's fame with indignity. On my arrival here, Mr. —, who is warmly Antigallican, and who was on the spot through the *whole revolution*, confirmed the story I had heard at Rome; and one of our own distinguished officers assured me, that the British officers at Malta spoke with regret of the part, which the British commander had taken in the affair.

Originally the Neapolitan gentry and people were not revolutionary. When the king deserted them, they were *obliged to submit* to the French, who, as usual, instituted a *revolutionary machine*, which they called a Neapolitan *republic*. Many, and indeed most of the first families in Naples, took part in this new system, considering the crown abdicated by the ignominious flight of the king. In the turn of affairs, Ruffo retook the city, signed a capitulation with the officers of the new government, by which it was agreed that their es-

ates should be preserved to them, and that they should be at liberty to remove in safety. On these conditions they submitted to Ruffo, who was the *authorised* officer of the king. They were accordingly put on board the ships to be transported to France. Lord Nelson and the king arrived; at first they did not object against the convention, but prepared to execute it.

Suddenly a change, owing, as is alleged, to the queen, took place several days after the signing of the convention and the arrival of the king. The nobility and gentry, concerned in what *all parties*, whom I have seen, agree was *no rebellion*, were seized, sent on board Nelson's fleet, tried summarily for high treason, and executed. Their estates were confiscated, and their families disinherited. Even young men of 17 and 20 years of age perished on the scaffold.

I was slow to believe, because I know how apt people are to misrepresent acts of *just severity*; but I am obliged to say that I think there is evidence that this was an impolitick violation of faith.

Eternal curses will, in *this country*, rest on the heads of the advisers of this measure, should they

be *certainly* known. It is attributed to the queen and lady Hamilton; by the influence of the *last* of whom, the Neapolitans pretend that lord Nelson was induced to come into the project. I wait for stronger proof before I give credit to the charge.

The result of this infamous breach of good faith and of policy, has been, to render the royal family obnoxious, and of course cowardly.

Perhaps it has had, and will continue to have a deeper effect on the destinies of Europe, than may be apparent at first blush. We know that the dread of revenge, of punishment for all past offences, of oversetting all titles acquired under the revolution, are the most powerful obstacles to the return of the Bourbons to France. What a sad lesson in support of these fears is the example of Naples! If a loyal people, who were deserted by their sovereign, were punished for *submitting only* to a conqueror, what must those dread, whose hands are stained with royal blood, and whose poniards are still reeking from the bosoms of a slaughtered nobility?

Yours, &c.

For the Anthology.

DUTIES OF GENIUS AND LEARNING TO BE ACTIVE AND USEFUL.

THE excuses, which learning offers for its indolence and inactivity, are generally weak or fallacious. They either have little foundation in reality, or else they are the miserable productions of sophistry, eager to secure consciousness of guilt from merited reproach. Perhaps, indeed, no peculiar justification can be made for

that vis inertia, that tendency to rest, which is so often the torpifying incumbrance of genius, and which sometimes is as constant a law in the intellectual, as in the physical world. But the ordinary apologies I do not propose now to examine, because it may be said, that no crime has been perpetrated, and therefore excuse is absurd;

no proof of guilt has been exhibited, and consequently innocence is supposed. Why is the possessor of intellectual treasures constrained to communicate his property to others? Where is the obligation, however imperfect, which results from the duty of exerting in favour of mankind those powers, which are the gift of nature, and those acquisitions, which are the fruit of diligent cultivation?

These objections have an air of authority, which is apt to mislead. They should therefore be critically examined, and impartially condemned. Their appearance of ingenuity should be removed, and their power of seduction destroyed; for they are delusive as the rainbow on the hill, and thin as the dewy exhalations of the morning.

The complete perfection of the moral world, to be exhibited in the conduct of the children of men, is not merely a sublime subject of reflection, but 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.' Such a state of existence has been credited in the reveries of philosophers, and some, more ardent than others, have prophesied the period of its commencement. Yet, notwithstanding the authority of Dr. Franklin and other benevolent theorists, there seem to be insurmountable obstacles to the formation of such a system of being. The constitution of the body, the violence of passions, the vagaries of fancy, the impotency of reason, and other sources of disorder, present dangers not to be encountered, and difficulties not to be overcome. But although it is impossible to reach perfection, shall we be contented with a state susceptible of improvement? Shall we rest satisfied with an order of existence capable of much melioration? Shall the traveller indolently loiter at the

foot of the mountain, because he cannot reach the summit, hoary with snow, or fiery with lightning? Shall the architect confine himself to the building of cottages, because his genius cannot construct the mighty magnificence of the temple of Solomon, or the ponderous immobility of the pyramids of Egypt? If then, we can make approximations to excellence, happiness constitutes a duty, not easily to be resisted. Every one becomes bound to advance a system of general exertion, creating a source of general advantage. Where the benefit is to be universal, the toil, which is necessary, must partake of its nature. Every society, constituted for particular purposes, must necessarily have a right of obligating its members to the performance of their several duties for the attainment of the common good. In like manner every general system, desirous for the enjoyment of a common acquirable benefit, by the known laws of its nature, imposes a duty and enforces an obligation on its constituent parts to perform in their order and degree, whatever to them peculiarly appertains. If these principles were not physically and morally true, no advantage could be gained by arrangement. Every combination of mechanick powers for a particular object, creates in each a mode of acting, which may not accomplish its purpose, if the most insignificant wheel could refuse its proper rotation. The sun, the planets, the comets, and the other celestial orbs, whether visible or invisible, form the system of creation, generating universal good by laws, ascertained by infinite wisdom, and established by infinite power; yet this stupendous whole, diffusing tranquil, silent religion over the heart of the unlettered

spectator, and enforcing adoration on the expansive mind of the searching astronomer, would lose its sublime harmony, and rush blindly to universal ruin, if the smallest satellite to the smallest planet could forget the law of its particular nature, or refuse submission to the ordinance of general gravitation.

Upon principles of obligation, therefore, genius and learning seem necessitated to exert their powers for the benefit of mankind. They are forced to act a conspicuous part, because their ability is capable of diffusing more than an ordinary share of felicity. Accordingly as the gifts of nature are of extensive or limited operation, the possessor must display his riches and scatter his benevolence; the genius should open his treasures of fancy, and the student his stores of erudition. Intellectual riches have no peculiarity of exemption from the duty of communicating good, and certainly none from the power. Indeed learning has such ability to extend the sphere of general happiness, that he must be considered as something more than an ordinary tyrant, who refuses to grant the petitions of all, when the concession is attended with no diminution of power. If in political society the miser is stigmatised as a general enemy, who thwarts the intention of the legislator by keeping his hoarded treasures from general circulation, what shall be said of the scholar, who is master of all the learning of every age, and whose genius has grasped the ensigns of sovereignty in the world of invention, and yet tyrannically refuses to communicate felicity by a bestowal of wealth, which would tend by extension of authority to personal aggrandisement?

If the sons of science, instead of being inactive and indolent, had resolutely offered to the world their learning, it is not difficult to say, that the mass of knowledge would have been much increased. Sometimes a hint, a slight expression, or insignificant problem, have led to inventions the most useful, and to discoveries the most sublime. But we should have advanced far in the road to perfection, if every one had published to mankind his researches, instead of throwing out fortuitous remarks and unintentional allusions. The congregated knowledge of all ages would then have been open to universal investigation. The deficiencies in any particular art or science would then be exhibited, and the student might be employed in new experiments, instead of discovering the old; he might now be gaining further victories in the regions of literature, instead of pursuing the marches, and reiterating the triumphs, of former conquerors. If it be a subject of regret, that the present age does not possess the complete knowledge of those which are past, it may have the honour of giving an example to future generations, by publishing, for their use, its natural and hereditary information. This would be gratefully received, and transmitted with accumulation to posterity. It would be an illustrious tribute of love for the benefit of mankind; and this honour, with an accompanying obligation, who will be able to resist? No one can doubt of the inestimable value of this generative mass of knowledge. A slight acquaintance with the anecdotes of literature will point out men, whose wonderful powers of mind were held in continual inactivity by the deadening influence of the torpedo of idleness. The memory of this

age is furnished, and the records of literature are replete with the names of scholars, whose shameful indolence is an indelible mark in the escutcheon of their characters. These men possessed arms of irresistible force, and authority of unlimited jurisdiction. Their acquaintance with the liberal arts might have furnished new gratifications of elegant luxury, and their knowledge in mechanicks might have created unknown accommodations of general life, and made the elements common tributaries to the service of nations : their scientifick researches would perhaps have perfected the knowledge of the solar system, and guided the future observer to sublime discoveries among the suns and comets, which are scattered in infinite space ; their physiology would perhaps have mitigated the pain, or removed the cause of the most grievous diseases ; it might have added new powers to our bodies, and lengthened the duration of existence : their exertions might have adorned morality with new beauties to captivate, and armed it with irresistible arguments to persuade ; while their holy prayers and pious reflections would perhaps have induced the hardened infidel to contemplate the infinite merits of the Saviour, impelled the atheist to purge his soul from crime, and acknowledge in devout adoration the existence of a God.

The principle of gratitude furnishes another obligation to make our knowledge subservient to the good of mankind. This virtue, unincumbered by any nice moral distinctions, is founded humanly on the reception of some good, and the consequent duty of returning the favour. The duty may be evidenced by actual benefit, not to those who imposed the obligation,

for they may not be in existence, but to others in necessitous situations, whom the benefactor would rejoice to have assisted, and who are to be considered proper objects of favour, according to the nature of things and the actual system of relation. If all have received, all should give. If there have been an unequal distribution of good, there are different measures of good to be returned, as testimonials of gratitude. But the sons of learning should not calculate their grateful offerings by precise rules of obligations. As they are dignified with high rank, and endowed with enlarged views, they will give with munificence ; they will act with liberal propriety ; they will not nicely scan and studiously weigh motives, and principles, and conduct ; they should be above petty arts and contemptible contrivances to escape the duties of virtue. But whether gratitude impel, or benevolence incite them, they should communicate with the flowing hand of plenty. They have received liberally from their fathers, and they should transmit to their sons whatever they possess of confirmed science and new discovery ; for if they retain their literary property, it can profit them little ; but if they bestow it, they will discharge their obligation, widen the circle of future felicity, and their names will be mentioned with esteem, and their memory covered with glory. There can be no doubt of their having a great duty to perform. Indeed, if we observe the riches, which learning has received, we might hesitate in saying that the best exertions could cancel the bond. The literary world has obtained an hereditary fortune in the works of men exalted in erudition and venerable in hoiness. This treasure has been

accumulating from age to age, and has descended from generation to generation, till its present proprietors are transported in examining the number of its parts, and the variety of its materials; or are overpowered in contemplating its mighty magnitude, diversified splendour, and irresistible power.

The all-wise creator of the universe has made nothing in vain. The general contrivance of the world is demonstrated by astronomy to be best adapted for its situation; and the apparent irregularities on its surface, or disorders in its atmosphere, are shown by philosophers to be productive of general happiness. The animals are endued with certain powers for the execution of certain purposes; they are furnished with means of offence and defence, with the ability of continuing existence, and with various passions and portions of reason and instinct. Thus the system of things is preserved in order and harmony. But this universal agreement has not been demonstrated to exist in the moral world. Without, however, discussing extensively and nicely this interesting proposition, it may be sufficient to observe, that the pos-

essor of enlarged faculties, attended by continual indolence, exhibits a character of little use to the world. Where power is granted, there must be an intention, that the power should be exercised. If it be of a beneficial nature, the intention becomes more evident, and an absolute obligation ensues. Let then Genius beware of his conduct, and let Learning resolutely shake off her idleness. By divine authority we are commanded not to hide in a napkin the treasures we have received, and from the same source we know, that an account is to be given of their exertion or inactivity. But, reasoning on moral principles alone, we may discover, that we obstruct the evident designs of our Maker, when we willingly consign our knowledge to shameful inertness. If talents are bestowed by heaven to be employed in doing good, he surely is guilty of contempt, and perhaps of rebellion, who slights the intentions of superiour wisdom; who defers his exertions till the hour of exertion be past, and consumes the petty remainder of an unprofitable existence in foolish gaiety or unavailing indifference.

For the Anthology.

MISCELLANY.

THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

IN a nation of gallants and fine gentlemen, a philosopher would be disappointed not to find a language courteous and graceful, filled with civilities, and easily flexible to compliment. Much of the manners, habits, and sentiments of a nation is indicated by its language; so

that the inhabitants of a country may be said to carry their characters upon their tongues. The genius of the French language I take to be *courtesy*. I doubt whether it can be said to possess the softness and *passion* of the Italian; still more, whether it have the

strength and vigour of the English. Yet it must be allowed, that the Gauls are more graceful and decorous in their speech, than their rival neighbours. If I might have my choice, I would make love in Italian; converse with wits and connoisseurs in French; say my prayers in Spanish; and talk to my dog in some of the dialects of the Baltick; but my funeral eulogy should be written in English by doctor Johnson.

For facetiousness, for playful civility, and easy repartee, the French idiom is unequalled. But the English is better for the purposes of manly commendation, and elegant and elaborate praise. I doubt, whether any language affords a finer specimen of panegyric, than the 'Character of Chatham,' or whether any thing can excel, in dignified commendation, some of the dedications written by Johnson. The French dedicators, with a modesty, which approaches to abject humiliation, throw themselves at the feet of their patrons, and only ask the honour of unbuckling their shoes. Johnson retains the dignity of his own character, while he exalts that of him to whom he speaks. The French throw away extravagant compliment, as if it were of no value: Johnson confers praise, not as if praise were worthless, but as if he were generous.

But when praise rises to romance, the superiority of the English idiom is no more. The imagination travels easier in the loose, flowing, retiring robe of a Parisian belle, than in the stays and buckram of queen Elizabeth. Nor is it wonderful, since language is a *metaphrase* of the national character, that the French should excel in the *riccitious*; for much of the science, and all the virtue of

the nation seems to be of that description. The following letter, addressed to a French commander on his gaining a victory, is a translation from that language. Perhaps the critick will see in it little either of the spirit or the idiom of the original.

'Elysian Fields, June 20th.

'MY LORD,

'THE fame of your actions awakes the dead. It arouses those, who have now slumbered for thirty years, and were destined to slumber to eternity. It compels even silence itself to break forth. What a brilliant, renowned, and glorious conquest have you achieved over the enemies of France! You have restored bread to the city, which has been accustomed to furnish it to all others. You have nourished the nurse-mother of Italy. The thunders of that fleet, which barred your passage to the port, could only celebrate your entrance. Its resistance could not detain you longer, than a reception encumbered with some excess of ceremony. Far from retarding the rapidity of your motions, it could not even interrupt the order of your course. You have constrained the South and the North to obey you. Without chastizing the sea, like Xerxes, you have yet rendered it governable. You have even done much more—you have humbled Spain. After this, what may not be said of you? No—Nature in her prime, and at the age when she created Cæsars and Alexanders, never produced any thing so grand, as under the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. In her decline and debility she hath given to France what Rome could not obtain, at the moment of her utmost vigour and maturity. She hath enabled the world to behold in you, my lord, an instance of

that perfect valour, of which we had scarcely formed a notion from romances and heroick poems. Nor should it displease any of your poets, that he cannot say, that you are not known beyond the Cocytus. Your boasting is, my lord, that you have now a common fame on both sides the Styx. It hath caused you forever to be remembered in the very abode of oblivion. It hath found you zealous partisans in the regions of indifference. It has engaged Acheron in the interest of the Seine. I will say more—There is not a ghost among us, so devoted to the principles of the Lyceum, so hardened in the school of Zeno, so fortified against joy and against grief, as not to

hear you praised with rapture, and, clapping his hands, to cry out, ‘a miracle!’

‘As for me, my lord, who know you much better than others, I incessantly dream of you. Your idea occupies me entirely in the long hours of repose. Continually do I exclaim, ‘illustrious personage!’ and if I have any desire to live again, it is less to see the light of heaven, than that I might enjoy the supreme happiness of your conversation; and assure you, with my own lips, how respectfully I am, with all the sentiments of my heart,

‘your lordship’s most humble,
‘and most obedient servant,
‘BALSAC.’

ORIGINAL LETTERS OF MRS. MONTAGU.

*Mrs. Montagu to Mrs. Robinson,
 &c. at Naples.*

Hill Street, 26 Feb. 1762.

****. ‘I long most impatiently to hear of your safe recovery, and the health of the little one, who is to repay you for all the trouble his first stage of life will give you. Patience and good humour, which you possess in a high degree, greatly mitigate all sufferings. Those who have most self-love, by a strange blindness to their interest, have usually the least of that noble panacea, patience, which only can heal all the wounds, the rubs, and the scratches one receives in this rough world. I believe you found it an excellent fellow-traveller through Spain: it makes a smooth road, where the pick-axe has never levelled the inequalities, and softens the mattress and pillow. I am under some anxiety, lest our rupture

with Spain should occasion you any inconvenience.

‘I am so poor a politician, that if I durst write on the subject, I should be able to give you but a lame account of the situation of affairs here. In the house of commons every boy, who can articulate, is a speaker, to the great dispatch of business, and solidity of councils. They sit late every night, as every young gentleman, who has a handsome person, a fine coat, a well-shaped leg, or a clear voice, is to exhibit these advantages.

‘To this kind of beau-oratory, and tea-table talk, the ladies, as is reasonable, resorted very constantly. At first they attended in such numbers, as to fill the body of the house on great political questions. Having all their lives been aiming at conquests, committing murders, and enslaving mankind, they were for most violent and bloody

measures : desirous of a war with Spain and France, fond of battles on the continent, and delighted with the prospect of victories in the East and West Indies. They wished to see the chariot of their favourite minister drawn, like that of the great Sesostris, by six captive kings !

‘ Much glory might have accrued to Great-Britain from this martial spirit in the ladies : but, whether by private contrivance, or that of a party, who are inclined to pacifick measures, I do not know, a ghost started up in a dirty obscure alley in the city, and diverted the attention of the female politicians from the glory of their country to an inquiry, why Miss Fanny —, who died of the small pox two years ago, and suffered herself to be buried, does now appear in the shape of the sound of a hammer, and rap and scratch at the head of Miss Parsons’s bed, the daughter of a parish-clerk ?

‘ As I suppose you read the newspapers, you will see mention of the Ghost ; but, without you was here upon the spot, you could never conceive, that the most bungling performance of the silliest imposture could take up the attention and conversation of all the fine world. And as the ways of the beau-monde are always in contradiction to the gospel, they are determined to shew, that, though they do not believe in Moses and the prophets, they would believe if one were to come from the dead, though it was only to play tricks, like a rat behind a wainscot ! You must not indeed regret being absent, while this farce is going on. There will be an Elizabeth Canning, or a Man in a Bottle, or some other folly, for the amusement of this frivolous generation, at all times !

‘ But you have some reason to regret having missed the coronation, perhaps the finest spectacle in the world. As all old customs are kept up in this ceremony, there is a mixture of chivalry and popery, and many circumstances that took their rise in the barbarism of former times, and which appear now very uncouth ; but, upon the whole, it is very august and magnificent.

‘ The fine person of our young Sovereign was a great addition to the spectacle ; but the Peers and Peeresses made the chief parade on the occasion. Almost all the nobility, whom age and infirmities did not incapacitate, walked in the procession. The jewels, that were worn on the occasion, would have made you imagine, that the diamond mines were in the King of Great-Britain’s dominions. On the King’s wedding, there appeared the greatest parade of fine cloaths I ever saw.

‘ This winter has been very gay as to amusements. Never did we see less light from the sun, or a greater blaze of wax-candles ! The presence of the Duke of Mecklenburgh, the Queen’s youngest brother, has given occasion to many balls and assemblies. The Queen has not an evening drawing-room : they have sometimes balls at St. James’s ; but in general their majesties spend their time in private, or at Leicester-house, where the Princess Dowager hardly keeps up the air of a court. The D. of Y — makes himself amends for want of princely pastimes by very familiarly frequenting all the public diversions ; and has shared in the amusements of the ghost at Cock Lane. As all are equal in the grave, a ghost may be company for the Grand Seignior, without disparagement to human gran-

deur ! Our young Queen has a polite address ; and even her civilities in the circle seem to flow from good humour. She is cheerful, easy, and artless in her manners, which greatly charms the king, who, by his situation, is surrounded by solemnity, ceremony, &c.

‘ I had the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Pitt, that you and my brother were in good health. You had a great loss in Mr. Pitt’s leaving Naples : he shines first amongst his young countrymen, even here. He is to dine here to-day with Mrs. Lyttleton and the Bishop of Carlisle, a new bishop, but who has long had every qualification to grace the Reverend Bench !

‘ You have lately returned us from Italy a very extraordinary personage, Lady Mary Wortley. When Nature is at the trouble of making a very singular person, Time does right in respecting it. Medals are preserved, when common coin is worn out ; and as great geniuses are rather matters of curiosity than use, this lady seems to be reserved for a wonder to more than one generation. She does not look older, than when she went abroad ; has more than the vivacity of fifteen ; and a memory, which perhaps is unique. Several people visited her out of curiosity, which she did not like. I visit her, because her husband and mine were cousin-germans ;† and though she has not any foolish par-

tiality for her husband, and his relations, I was very graciously received, and, you may imagine, entertained, by one, who neither thinks, speaks, acts, or dresses, like any body else. Her domestick is made up of all nations ; and when you get into her drawing-room, you imagine you are in the first story of the tower of Babel. An Hungarian servant takes your name at the door ; he gives it to an Italian, who delivers it to a Frenchman, the Frenchman to a Swiss, and the Swiss to a Polander ; so that by the time you get to her ladyship’s presence, you have changed your name five times without the expense of an Act of Parliament.*

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* In another letter dated 8th Oct. following, Mrs. Montagu writes thus : ‘ Lady Mary W. Montagu returned to England, as it were, to finish where she began. I wish she had given us an account of the events, that filled the space between. She had a terrible distemper, the most virulent cancer ever heard of, which soon carried her off. I met her at my Lady Bute’s in June, and she then looked well ; in three weeks after, at my return to London, I heard she was given over. The hemlock kept her drowzy and free from pain ; and the physicians thought, if it had been given early, might possibly have saved her.

‘ She left her son one guinea. He is too much of a sage to be concerned about money, I presume. When I first knew him, a rake and a beau, I did not imagine he would addict himself at one time to Rabbinical learning ; and then travel all over the east, the great itinerant savant of the world. One has read, that the great believers in the transmigration of souls suppose a man, who has been rapacious and cunning, does penance in the shape of a fox ; another, cruel and bloody, enters the body of a wolf. But I believe my poor cousin in his pre-existent state, having broken all moral laws, has been sentenced to suffer in all the various characters of human life. He has run through them all, unsuccessfully enough. His dispute

† Lady Mary’s husband, Wortley Montagu, was son of Sidney Montagu, 2d son of the first earl of Sandwich. He died 22 Jan. 1761, aged 80. Mrs. Montagu’s husband, Edward Montagu, was son of Charles Montagu, 5th son of the first earl of Sandwich. He was of Sandeford in Berks, and Denton in Northumberland, and died 1775.

‘ My father, brother Morris, and brother Charles, are in town. My brother Robinson has been in Kent most part of the winter. I made my sister a visit at Bath-Easton, just before the meeting of the Parliament in November. I had the happiness of finding her in better health than usual. Lady Bab Montagu is much recovered of late. I am surprised she did not try, what a change of climate would do in her favour.

‘ I own I have such a spirit of rambling, I want nothing but liberty to indulge it, to carry me as far as Rome. I believe, I should make it the limit of my curiosity. Its ancient greatness, and its present splendour, make it the object most worth one’s attention. I hope his Holiness would pardon a heretick for reverencing the curule, more than the papal, chair. One must however own, that if imperial Rome was unrivalled in greatness, papal Rome has been unparalleled in policy. I leave to heroes and statesmen to dispute, whether force or cunning is the most honourable means to establish power. One calls violence valour, the other civilly terms fraud wisdom: plain sense and plain honesty cannot reverence either.

‘ I am very sorry that you have lost Sir Francis Eyles: an agreeable friend is greatly missed in all situations, but must be particularly so in a foreign country. I envy you the opportunities you have of getting a familiar acquaintance with the Italian lan-

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with Mr. Needham has been communicated to me by a gentleman of the Museum; and I think he will gain no laurels there. But he speaks as decisively, as if he had been bred in Pharaoh’s court in all the learning of the Egyptians. He has certainly very uncommon parts; but too much of the rapidity of his mother’s genius.

guage. I should be much obliged to you, if you could get me all the works of Paulus Jovius in Latin; Thucydides’s History, translated into Italian by Francisco di Soldo Strozzi, a quarto edition, 1563; History of Naples by Angelo di Costanza, a folio, 1582; the best translation of Demosthenes; the poetical works of Vittoria Colonna; of Carlo Marrat’s daughter; and La Conquista di Granada; all Cardinal Bembo’s works; the History of the Incas, by Garcilassa de la Vega, in Spanish. If you could any where pick up the old French romance of Perce Forest, I should be glad of it; and also L’Histoire du Port Royal. I should be glad of the life of Vittoria Colonna; but do not know in what language it is written.

‘ The town is now in a great uproar from an outrageous piece of gallantry, as it is called, of the young Earl of ***, who has carried off Miss *****, as it is said, to Holland. He wrote a letter to his wife, one of the best and most beautiful women in the world, to tell her he had quitted her forever; that she was too good and too tender for him; and he had so violent a passion for Missy, he could not help doing as he did. It will not be long, before
the maid
Will weep the fury of her love betray’d.

His affections are as uncertain, as they are unlawful and ungenerous. Nothing more than a total want of honour, and honesty, is necessary to make a man follow the dictates of a loose, unbridled passion. But what could prevail on the unhappy girl to quit her parents, country, reputation, and all her future hopes in life, one cannot imagine! One should hardly imagine too, that a girl, who has flirted for some years with the pretty men in town;

Has been finest at every fine shew,
And frolick'd it all the long day,
should be taken with the simple
passion of some village nymph,
single out her shepherd, and live
under a mountain by the purling
of a rill, contentedly,

'The world forgetting, by the world
forgot!'

'It seems Miss *** was a
great lover of French novels; and
much enamoured of Mr. Rous-
seau's Julie. How much have
these writers to answer for, who
make vice into a regular system,
gild it with specious colours, and
deceive the mind into guilt, it
would have started at, without the
aid of art and cheat of sentiment!
I have wrote the names of the de-
linquents very plain, as God forbid
their crime should be imputed to
any innocent person. There is
danger of that, if one does not ex-
plain oneself.

'I believe one may affirm,
though it is not declared in form,
that our young Queen is in a way
to promise us an heir to Great-
Britain in a few months. Lady
Sarah Lennox is very soon to be
married to Sir William Bunbury's
son; and Lady Raymond, it is
said, to Lord Robert Bertie. Mr.
Beauclerk was to have been mar-

ried to Miss Draycott; but, by a
certain coldness in his manner,
she fancied her lead-mines were
rather the objects of his love, than
herself; and so, after the licence
was taken out, she gave him his
congé. Rosamond's pond was
never thought of by the forsaken
swain. His prudent parents thought
of the transmutation of metals, and
to how much gold the lead might
have been changed, and rather re-
gret the loss.

'I am very glad you have the
good fortune to have Sir Richard
Lyttelton and the Duchess of Bridg-
water at Naples. I know not any
house, where the sweet civilities of
life are so well dispensed, as at
theirs. Sir Richard adds, to ele-
gance of manners, a most agree-
able vivacity and wit in conversa-
tion. He was made for society,
such as society should be. I shall
be glad, when you write, to hear of
the duchess of Bridgewater's health,
and the recovery of Sir Richard's
legs; though he sits smiling in
his great chair with constant good
humour, it is pity he should be
confined to it! I wish you would
present my compliments to him
and my lady duchess.

'In the way of publick news, I
should tell you, Lord Halifax is
adored in Ireland.'

For the Anthology.

ASTRONOMY.

The following article was drawn up at our request by Mr. BOWDITCH of
Salem, and with his permission is now published.

THE comet, which is now visi-
ble, was first observed near the
foot of the constellation *Virgo*, and
has since passed in succession
through the constellations *Mons
Menalus*, *Serpens*, *Hercules*, and

Lyra; and on the 19th of Decem-
ber was about one degree distant
from the star α *Cygni*; the appar-
ent motion was nearly in a great
circle at the rate of about one de-
gree per day. I have made ob-

servations, since the 7th of October, by measuring distances from the comet to several of the fixed stars by a circle of reflection; and to render the observations as correct as was practicable, ten or twelve distances from each star were generally measured. The necessary calculations for ascertaining the exact elements of the orbit have not yet been completed; but the following approximate values have been obtained, by which the place of the comet may be calculated within 10' or 12', and the observer thus enabled to discover the comet, when it shall become so faint as to be scarcely visible.

Time of passing the perihelion, Sept. 18th, at midnight, mean time at Salem, corresponding to Sept. 18th, 16h. 43m. 28s. mean time at Greenwich.

Perihelion distance 0,6485. the mean distance of the earth from the sun being 1.

Place of the perihelion, counted on the orbit of the comet s. o. 1. "

Place of the perihelion, reduced to the ecliptick 9 0 53 15

Place of the ascending node 8 28 32 19

Inclination of the orbit to the ecliptick 8 26 36 29

Motion direct, or according to the order of the signs. 0 63 13 31

The geocentrick latitudes and longitudes of the comet, calculated

for the month of October, by these elements, do not differ more than two or three minutes from observations; greater differences were found in the observations made in November, but the greatest error did not exceed nineteen minutes.

The distance of the comet from the sun, at the time of passing the perihelion, was above sixty millions of miles. The distance of the comet from the earth, on the 25th of September, was about one hundred millions of miles; and on the 17th of the present month was above one hundred and sixty millions of miles.

The elements of this comet differ so greatly from those of all the comets inserted by De La Lande in his Astronomy, that it must be one, whose elements were unknown to that excellent astronomer.

The above results will be found to differ in a small degree from those given in the Salem Gazette of November 10th, and Register of November 12th. Since those dates I have been enabled, by successive operations, to obtain the elements of the orbit with more exactness.

The comet may have been observed in the southern hemisphere before passing the perihelion; but it was not probably then seen in the northern, on account of its great southern declination.

Salem, December 19, 1807.

For the Anthology.

SILVA, No. 34.

Lac mihi non æstate novum, non frigore, desit. Virg. 2 Ec. 22.

ALLITERATION.

THIS humble figure of rhetoric, if it may be called a rhetorical figure, intended merely to play upon the ear, is of early use among

the English poets. In Spenser it is harsh and deformed; the lines in which it abounds are destitute of beauty and gracefulness, and consist of an unharmonious com-

bination of words, that betrays the affectation with which they were put together.

In reading his translation of the *Culex* of Virgil, my attention was arrested by the frequent and awkward introduction of this figure. In the description of the serpent we meet with these lines :

And his bright eyes, glauncing full
dreadfully,
Did seem to *flame out flakes of flashing*
fire.

The gnat, in his complaint to the shepherd from his infernal prison, details a part of its horrors, in the following *hideous heap of aspirated alliteration* :

Ten thousand snakes, cralling about his
(Cerberus) hed,
Do hang in *heaps* that *horribly* affray.

And afterward :

..... I thee restored to life again,
Even from the *door of death* and *deadly*
dreed.

In the writings of Pope, the figure of alliteration, so much abused by common scribblers of verses, is refined into a positive beauty, and it gives a degree of vivacity, and strength, and even elegance to the versification, which we sometimes perceive in effect, without detecting the real skill and dexterity of the poet in their production.

In his very striking and undisguised alliterations, we generally find, that, in order to preserve the harmony of his verse, he has resorted to the liquid consonants. Thus in his 'Essay on Man' :

Mark how it *mounts* to *man's* imperial
race.

Again :

The spider's touch, how exquisitely
fine !
Feels at each thread, and *lives along*
the *line.*

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And again in his 'Moral Essays' :

There English bounty yet awhile may
stand,
And honour *linger* ere it *leaves* the land.

He sometimes very happily unites this figure with an antithesis in the thought, or construction of the line ; as in the following examples, where, though the alliteration is, in some instances, remote, yet it is still preserved :

When earthquakes *swallow*, or when
tempests *sweep.*

In the adjective :

That secret's rare, between the ex-
tremes to move
Of *mad* good nature, or of *mean* self-
love.

In the noun and adjective :

Whom with a *wig* so *wild*, and *mein* so
mazed.

In the noun and verb :

And *judges* *job*, and *bishops* *bite* the town,
And mighty dukes pack cards for half
a crown.

Sometimes the words which mark the antithesis, and contain the alliteration, are inverted with respect to each other, and appear at the extremities of the line ; as in the second verse of the following passage :

Though the same sun, with all-diffus-
ive rays,
Blush in the rose, and in the diamond
blaze,
We prize the stronger effort of his
power,
And justly set the gem above the flower.

If I have been fortunate in these examples, it must appear that alliteration may become a beauty in the hands of a skilful artist in the service of the Muses. But the beauty does not consist in a continued repetition of the same initial letter, multiplied by great effort, and in violation of nature. A

degree of deception in its mechanism is sometimes pardonable ; by which it may elude the vigilance of the eye, and still preserve its power to charm the ear.

Some have exhibited their mighty ingenuity in forming whole lines of uninterrupted alliteration.

How admirable is the command of language, and how exquisite the combination of syllables and words in such lines as these !

All round the rugged rocks the ragged
rascals ran. ANON.

Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
How high his honour holds his haughty
heart.

Prose has also been enriched with this playful figure. One writer has told us of men, whose faculties are proportioned to the *bawl of Bellas*, and *barbarity of Beckford*; and another of a *casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances*; and how far the study of synonymes, for the selection of corresponding initials, may still improve this happy art, is beyond the critick's ken to imagine.

GREEK LITERATURE.

Every man, says Dr. Johnson, now-a-days gets as much Greek as he can. In this country, I fear, we are less skilled in ancient lore, than before the revolution. The death of George II. was mourned, and George III. congratulated on his accession, in Greek odes, of which, it is feared, we now hardly know the construction. The war not only interrupted the studies of the learned, but in some degree unfitted the nation for such pursuits. *Inter arma silent leges, inter arma vacat academia.* We have indeed reasons for hoping that the incapacity is only temporary, yet sad would be the task to expose to foreigners the whole

state of literature among us. Our colleges, to be sure, are crowded; but the number of them is prejudicial to real learning, for their endowments are too niggardly to support instructors: academick honours are too easily acquired, and our youth learn to despise them: and of all our commodities, scholarship, though the most rare, bears the lowest price in the market.

In so little repute was the study of Greek literature not long since holden, that the boys at one of our universities, by glorying in their ignorance of it, have disgraced the proud name of their mother, from whom they expected a rank and a title in the world of letters; and at another have erased, as far as their power could go, every vestige of that unsightly alphabet.

But within a few years we have exhibited some signs of awaking from our long trance. The language of Rome is now considered with respect, if not studied with fervour; and the nation, to whom Rome owed her letters and her arts, will, we hope, ere long vindicate her intellectual supremacy in our country. Let us remember, that, as the use of gold and silver coin is the surest criterion of civilization, Greek literature supplies the best proof of a people's advancement in learning.

VOLTAIRE'S LIBRARY.

It is said, that Voltaire's library was a poor one, though it consisted of more than six thousand volumes. In the department of history especially it was very scantily furnished, and of romances he had not more than thirty volumes. But though his books were in fact of little value, they were made extremely precious by the manuscript notes, with which he had filled them. Whenever he was

reading a book, if a thought struck him, he would take the first bit of paper that he could find, write his remark, and paste the paper on the margin of the page, which he was reading, and over against the passage, which suggested the remark, or to which it belonged. The French will never cease to regret, that this curious monument of Voltaire's genius is not in their possession. It ought, they say, to make a part of the grande bibliothèque imperiale, at Paris; but alas! it is in that of Petersburg. The empress Catharine persuaded Madame Denis, Voltaire's heiress, to let her have it for 150,000 livres. This was the price which the sovereign herself fixed. She added a rich present of furs of the greatest beauty; and a very gracious letter with this superscription, 'Pour Madame Denis, nièce d'un grand homme que j'aimais beaucoup.'

The empress also required that all the original letters of Voltaire, whether fit to be printed or not, should accompany this library. Madame Denis consented, only she had permission to take copies of any letters she wished to preserve. Catharine also obtained exact plans and various views of the chateau at Ferney; for she proposed to make one exactly like it in her park of Czarskozele, and to erect there a monument to the memory of Voltaire. It was intended to have a museum, where the books should be placed in precisely the same order in which they were arranged at Ferney, with a statue of Voltaire in the centre. I know not whether these plans have ever been executed.

Catharine bought also the libraries of D'Alembert and Diderot. Diderot sold his, that he might give his only daughter a fortune; and it is a curious fact, that it was

made a condition of the sale, that he should not only be allowed to keep the books as long as he lived, but that he should receive a salary as librarian!

I will only add that there is an interesting specimen of Voltaire's manuscript notes on Virgil, in the Anthology for September, 1805.

ALEXANDER.

The following highly satirical lines are from Despreaux's satires, and with very little alteration might be applied to the present ravager of Europe.

'Pray what was Alexander in your sense?
A fool belike. Yes, faith, sir, much the same;
A crackbrained huff, that set the world on flame;
A lunatick broke loose, who in his fit
Fell foul on all, invaded all he met;
Who, lord of the whole globe, yet not content,
Lack'd elbow room, and seem'd too closely pent.
What madness was't, thus born to a fair throne,
Where he might rule with justice and renown;
Like a wild robber, he would choose to roam,
A pitied wretch, with neither house nor home;
And hurling war and slaughter up and down,
Thro' the wide world makes his vast folly known.
Happy, for ten good reasons had it been,
If Macedon had had a bedlam then;
That there with keepers under close restraint
He might have been from frantick mischief pent.'

NEW-ENGLAND.

It is said of us in New-England, that vanity is our national foible. There may be some truth in the remark, though we cannot allow that we have this weakness in a greater degree than some of our sister states. Charleston, Phila-

delphia, and New-York, are not perhaps less distinguished by their local prejudices than Boston. The success of our revolutionary war, and the unexampled prosperity which has followed, may have given to the American nation at large an over-weening conceit of its power and resources. But individually we have not more vanity than others. Where, for instance, can you find a vainer or sillier fellow than a young *John Bull*, just imported from a manufactory at Birmingham? *John*, who never in his own country was admitted into the company of gentlemen, immediately gives himself airs, and finds fault with *this here* and *that there*. He swears, to prove his courage, and talks nonsense to show his wit. He endeavours to establish his own superiority by the universal censure of all he hears and sees. In *John's* opinion, we are wholly ignorant of every art of life; we can neither dress, nor dance, nor walk, nor give an entertainment in a genteel style. *John* abuses our cookery, whilst he devours all before him; and launches out in the praise of Port wine, while he is

swallowing his bottle of *Ma-deira*.

For the English nation we entertain the highest respect, and are far from wishing that our readers should judge of it from the swaggering puppies we sometimes meet with, who, springing from low life, assume the dress without the manners of gentlemen. The well-bred Englishman ranks high in the scale of being. He is modest, sensible, generous, and brave, above vulgar prejudices, and in every respect a man of truly estimable character. We should be cautious therefore how we judge of a nation from the clerks of a merchant, or the apprentices of a manufacturer.

Let foreigners, in a similar manner, avoid deciding on the American character by our adventurers, who visit all parts of the world, many of whom are as contemptible for their vulgarity, as infamous for their knavery. We have as much solid worth at home perhaps as any people in the world; a considerable portion of which is never exported in foreign bottoms.

For the Anthology.

MINERALOGY.

[Mr. S. Godon has recently commenced a course of Mineralogical Lectures in this town. This gentleman's attainments in Mineralogy and Chemistry were repeatedly evidenced in France, his native country, where those sciences are assiduously cultivated. We have understood that his removal is with a view of permanent settlement in some part of the United States. We wish him all merited encouragement and success, and indulge a hope that his talents and acquirements will render him eminently useful to his adopted country. A man of real science, with a disposition to diffuse it, and to apply his intellectual stores to useful purposes, must be considered as a valuable acquisition.

We have been favoured with a copy of Mr. Godon's preliminary observations, forming a part of his first Lecture, which we have now the pleasure of presenting to the readers of the Anthology.]

GENTLEMEN,

THE study of natural history is intended to direct us to the knowledge of the objects which compose our globe, or which belong to its surface. Naturalists divide these objects into two classes, *organized* and *inorganized beings*. Mineralogy, in particular, is limited to a knowledge of those which compose *inanimate nature*.

When we cast our eyes upon the part of the globe not covered by waters, the bodies scattered on the earth present themselves to us confusedly. Stones and metals appear dispersed without order in its bosom, or on its surface. Such is the point of view under which they are beheld by the vulgar; but this confusion is only in appearance, and, in places favourable to mineralogical observations, the man who knows how to consider analytically these different bodies, soon perceives an order which renders their study interesting to him.

Two ways of studying the objects of the mineral kingdom are presented to us: either we consider them in their simple state, that is to say, constituted in distinct species, with characters which are peculiar to them, or we consider them in a state of aggregation. The first consideration belongs to the mineralogical species, properly speaking; the second to the aggregate minerals constituting the vast masses of the globe, which are commonly called *rocks*. The study of rocks is important in the application of mineralogical knowledge, and particularly in the geological description of mountains. Werner has given to these two divisions the names of *oryctog-*

nosia and *geognosia*, which we shall adopt.

We shall divide our studies therefore into two sections; in the first we shall speak of the characters of minerals, of their chemical composition, and of their properties and uses; in the second, we shall fix our attention on the rocks, and on the method of studying minerals in nature.

In order to attain these several kinds of knowledge, and aid our minds in the pursuit, various systems of classification have been imagined. These systems are not always owned by nature, but such as they are, we must consider them as valuable for us, since they afford the means to run over the vast chain of bodies which compose the mineral kingdom. The introduction of these methods, almost unknown to the ancients, has had a powerful influence in advancing the progress of natural history among the moderns.

It is no doubt useless to enlarge upon the importance of the science to which we are now about to give our attention. The knowledge of metals, the art of taking them out of the earth, and preparing them for our purposes; the making of lime, of alum, of copperas, and of vitriol of copper; the art of knowing the earths proper for the fabrication of pottery ware china, &c. are dependencies of mineralogy. Agriculture itself has connection with mineralogical observations; and to commerce perhaps more than to any other profession, a general knowledge of natural objects is interesting and important. The mineralogist sees with pleasure, that almost every

object which composes his collection, has some use in society, and who can forget the influence of metals in particular among civilized people. Nearly thirty thousand plants are known; the number of species included in zoology is incomparably more extensive; among those beings, all different in their forms, whose multiplicity almost overpowers our imagination, we reckon only a small number, the uses of which are ascertained. It is not the same with minerals; hardly can we mention any stones altogether indifferent to man living in society; even those which appear to the eyes of philosophers & naturalists, as of little importance in nature, as to their real utility, by a singular and old caprice have obtained a high degree of estimation, and are of great value in commerce.

America presents a virgin soil

in reference to this branch of natural history. There is abundant evidence, that the mineral productions of this part of the world are as interesting as those of any other country; and the most proper period for researches of this description, is undoubtedly that in which the people of the United States begin to perceive the necessity of manufactures.

This study equally claims the attention of the man who is in pursuit of property, as of him who is at leisure to cultivate his understanding. In all times, and among every people, the tribute of esteem and consideration has been granted to those who have benefited society and the sciences by useful discoveries. Ambition, thus directed, is altogether laudable, for its object is to contribute to the conveniencies of life, and to improve the human mind.

FRANKLIN DONATION.

To the Editors of the Monthly Anthology.

GENTLEMEN,

I OBSERVED in the *Monthly Magazine* for July last,* published in London, a query relative to two legacies of one thousand pounds sterling each, left by Dr. Franklin to the town of Boston, and to the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, for the benefit of

* From the *Monthly Magazine*, published in London, for July, 1807—p. 558.

To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.

SIR,—Having lately met with Dr. Franklin's *Life*, to which his will is annexed, my curiosity has been much excited relative to 2000*l.* bequeathed in a codicil to the said will; 1000*l.* to the citizens of Boston, and 1000*l.* to the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, to be let out at interest, at five per cent,

such young artificers under the age of twenty-five, as had served an apprenticeship in those towns, and were married. So far as the inquiry respects this town, I am able to state, that the sum was paid, and that the first loan made by the trustees was on the 3d of May, 1791. Since that time there have been one hundred and thirty-

in different sums, to such young artificers, under the age of twenty-five, as had served an apprenticeship in the said towns, and were married. If any person can gratify my desire to know whether the said legacies are appropriated agreeable to the patriot's will, through your justly admired miscellaneous collection, he will much oblige your constant reader,

Dublin, February 22, 1807.

five loans, secured according to the provisions contained in the will : of these fifty-nine have been wholly paid, and on the rest various portions of the principal and interest are due, and constantly growing due. The fund amounts at this time to eight thousand three hundred eighty-six dollars, and has been found in its operation highly useful to many of the citizens of this town.

By inserting this information in your miscellany, you will gratify the curiosity of the inquirer relative to a bequest, which reflects great honour on the memory of Dr. Franklin, and oblige

Yours, &c.

P. THACHER,

Treasurer of the Fund.

Boston, Dec. 22, 1807.

POETRY.

ORIGINAL.

AN ODE TO WINTER.

WINTER, ruler of the year,
Awful in thy storm,
Blow thy blast, both chill and clear,
Shew thy wildest form !

'O Winter ! cease thy song,
Lest nature's self should die ;
Lest art thy magick feel,
And softest minstrelsy.

Muses, touch the faithful lyre,
Wake the poet's native fire.

'Next, in his cold and dreary dress,
He goes the suffering circle round,
Visits the children of distress,
And lurks where hunger's found.

'Yonder, Winter's self appears,
Crown'd with snows of other years ;
High on an alp of ice reclin'd,
He sullen calls the obedient wind,
Then throws his native garment round,
And bids his gloomy harp to sound.

'Ah ! turn thee from that door :—
Here pour thy pelting storm,
Give wealth thy hail, thy snow,
But spare the poor forlorn.

'Now mark, the tender leaves are curl'd,
He strikes a wilder note, they die ;
The slender aspen trembling bends,
And hear, the weeping willows sigh.

'No ! Then, gentle Pity, come !
Winter's eldest, fondest child,
Give him all his kindred storm,
Be thou ever soft and mild.

'Now all the woodland choir is still,
Nor wakes its melting musick more ;
The noisy clack within the mill
In silence listens to his lore.

'Beneath thy heavenly smile
The blast a zephyr grows ;
'Tis thine to calm the storm,
'Tis thine to melt the snows.

'And lo ! askance the sun is turn'd,
The river hearkens to his song ;
'Tis charm'd,—and ceases more to flow,
Nor bears its pebbly note along.

'Now smiles the child of woe,
The orphan wipes the tear ;
His cup with comfort flows,
E'en sadness tastes the cheer.

'And bends the oak, whose head
Is ivy'd o'er with years ;

'Calm thoughtfulness, thy child,
Now holds her evening reign,
By turns with fancy wild,
Then tun'd to sorrow's strain.

But mark, the Muses leave the lyre, Yes, friendship claims thee as her
Nor longer wake the poet's fire own,
To glow in winter's praise ; And softer sympathy.
Anticipation takes the song,
And bears young Spring in smiles If such delights are thine,
along, Though rugged be thy form,
For poets' softer lays. Still will I hail thee mine,
And smile amid thy storm.

But, winter ! social life is thine,
'Tis here we welcome thee ;

December 26, 1807.

SELECTED.

THE WITHERED OAK.

'TWAS Autumn—the sun now descending the sky,
In a robe of bright crimson and gold was array'd ;
While the pale sickly moon, scarcely open'd her eye,
Just peep'd through the forest, and silver'd the glade.

The voice of the evening was heard in the trees—
Each chirper so merry was seeking his nest ;
The anthems of insects were mix'd with the breeze,
And nature look'd pleas'd—all her children were blest.

Even the trees appear'd drest in their holiday cloaths,
And they wav'd their green arms, and they seem'd to rejoice,
While methought as I listened, at times there arose
From each oak's ivied branches a Deity's voice.

But ah ! there was *one* that did not appear gay,
Nor wave his long branches—now verdant no more !
The bird as he views him soars silent away,
His genius is dead, and his honours are o'er.

Once green like the rest, strong and lovely he grew,
The warbler once dwelt in each well cover'd bough,
The breezes saluted his leaves as they flew ;
Yes, he has been—but now !—alas ! what is he now ?

The rays of the morning still shine on the tree,
And evening still waters the trunk with her tears ;
The wild-flow'r and wheat-sheaf around it we see,
But a winterly ruin this ever appears.

Oh ! say, is it age that has alter'd thy form,
(For care and affliction *thou* never hast known)
Or hast thou been struck by the pitiless storm,
That thou thus seem'st to pine and to wither alone ?

Thou art silent—the silence my fancy improve ;
Come pause here awhile—it is what *thou* may'st be !
Ah ! oft in the heyday of pleasure and love
Old friend, I shall sigh as I think upon thee.

Aug. 23, 1806.

THE BOSTON REVIEW,

FOR

DECEMBER, 1807.

Librum tuum legi & quam diligentissime potui annotavi, quæ commutanda, quæ eximenda, arbitrarer. Nam ego dicere verum assuevi. Neque ulli patientius reprehenduntur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur. PLIN.

ARTICLE 67.

The Life of George Washington, commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America throughout the war, which established their independence, and first president of the United States. By David Ramsay, M.D. author of the History of the American Revolution. 8vo. pp. 376. New-York, printed by Hopkins & Seymour, for E. S. Thomas, Baltimore. 1807.

An Essay on the Life of George Washington, commander in chief of the American army through the revolutionary war, and the first president of the United States. By Aaron Bancroft, A. S. pastor of a Congregational church in Worcester. 8vo. pp. 552. Worcester, printed by Thomas & Sturtevant, 1807.

THE biography of the best great man, recorded in the annals of history, will be perused through successive ages with increasing delight. Early in the present year the long-desired life of Washington by Marshall was completed and given to the publick. This work was so eagerly expected by the world, that our praise or censure could neither retard nor increase its circulation: and we

have thought proper, to lay by the volumes, as they have appeared, in order to examine them together, and afford a continuous representation of the merits of the whole.

The volumes now before us have within a few months issued from our press, the authors having waited to derive all possible advantage from the work of Marshall for the perfection of their abridgments. Of the utility of their plan no doubt can arise, for thousands in our country cannot purchase the costly volumes of the great biographer, to whom much information may be afforded by Ramsay and by Bancroft.

The first observation in comparing these two volumes, that will strike every one who reads them, is, that they might well exchange titles. The work, modestly called 'An Essay on the life of George Washington,' exhibits many proofs of profound research among the scattered fragments of our history, and much curious inquiry after anecdotes relating to its subject. 'The Life of George Washington,' by the historian of the American war, contains nothing new to one, who has read Marshall with careless rapidity, and who faintly remembers the impression made on him in his pas-

sage through that ample repository. Dr. Ramsay is diffuse and oratorical in his manner, as if he were contesting for the palm of eloquence in a eulogy. The style of Mr. Bancroft is simple without meanness: it seldom glows, and is never frigid: it is not rapid, nor does it often stagnate.

‘He has not conceived that he was writing for men of erudition, but for the unlettered portion of the community; and he has for their benefit more particularly studied simplicity of style. Should he be so happy as to obtain their approbation, he will receive an ample reward of his labour.’ *Preface.*

Such is the safe manner of him, who, too diffident to aspire to the rank of a philosophical historian, contents himself with the faithful performance of the useful duties of an annalist. If therefore to an inhabitant of Europe, who shall inquire for the character of Washington with little curiosity to learn the private biography of the man, or the peculiar circumstances and events of little splendour, that attended the warrior, the volume of Ramsay be recommended, as a well written epitome; by every American, who searches with eager veneration for all the less observable qualities of the father of his country, to whom no situation, in which he stood, is uninteresting, no detail of facts, in which he was concerned, trivial, superiority will be allowed without hesitation to the abridgment of Mr. Bancroft.

An engraved head of Washington is prefixed to each of these volumes; in Ramsay's by Leney, in Bancroft's by Edwin. Neither is equal to the fine likeness by Edwin in Marshall's Washington; but that in Bancroft's, though perhaps more coarsely executed than the work of Leney, carries a strong

resemblance, which commendation we cannot afford to the other.

Dr. Ramsay has dedicated his book to the youth of the United States, in a sentence neat enough; but we see little use in this way of filling a page.

The two authors have divided their works into chapters, and, as if by preconcert, each has thirteen, of which the first in Ramsay's narrates the history of Washington in twenty pages to the commencement of our revolution: Mr. Bancroft has given the biography only till the year 1759 in thirty-seven pages. This may shew the greater satisfaction to be derived from the minuteness of Mr. Bancroft.

In the history of Chief Justice Marshall we are informed who was the father of Washington, as well as that he was his third son; who was his great-grandfather, and the time of his emigration from England; but we remain ignorant of the name of our hero's grandfather; and the defect is not supplied in the volumes before us.

As these works will soon be among the most usual books in the hands of our children, who acquire their style of expression from the most common authors, it is of importance to notice a few verbal errors, that might otherwise pass us uncensured. On the page of Dr. Ramsay few readers would expect to find such sentences as these: ‘On the next day a dreadful scene took place.’ ‘A revolutionary war of eight years duration, which issued in their establishment, as thirteen United States.’ ‘List’ for enlist is growing obsolete. On page 33d he informs us, that the British troops fell down to the Castle with the intention of proceeding up the river to attack

Dorchester heights. Query, was the historian ever in Boston? The phrase '*brought round* a revolution' is very offensive to our ears. *Brought about* would be bad enough, but this seems to be *brought round about*. '*Prodigious convoy*' and '*ineffable delight*' are modes of expression inconsistent with the modesty of history; and '*majestick silence*' suits only the romantick. Judgment was '*his forte*' would be a mean expression to apply to any body, but it is highly improper to speak so vulgarly of the subject of our author's history. 'After a tedious hearing before a court, Lee was found guilty.' We hope no contempt is meant in these words, though it might be thought so. The word '*thereof*' occurs frequently in Dr. Ramsay's volume, and in 'Wood's Conveyancing.' The son of general St. Clair will inform the Doctor, that his father's name was not *Sinclair*, and any school-boy in the country might have corrected the word.

If in so large a work by an American author more faults of grammar and expression are not discovered, than we have now marked, he deserves no small praise; and Dr. Ramsay may remember, that many writers in our country are not worth censuring. He has done much heretofore, and his '*Life of Washington*' has given him another claim to the gratitude of his country. His style is usually pure, and often elegant. His remarks are judicious and sometimes profound. From a quotation our readers may easily decide for themselves.

'Perhaps no man ever lived who was so often called upon to form a judgment in cases of real difficulty, and who so often formed a right one. Engaged in the busy scenes of life, he knew human nature, and the most

proper methods of accomplishing proposed objects. Of a thousand propositions he knew to distinguish the best, and to select among a thousand the individual most fitted for his purpose.'

P. 329.

The whole character indeed of Washington is well drawn, and its conclusion impressive:

'Citizens of the United States! While with grateful hearts you recollect the virtues of your Washington, carry your thoughts one step farther. On a review of his life, and of all the circumstances of the times in which he lived, you must be convinced, that a kind Providence in its beneficence raised him, and endowed him with extraordinary virtues, to be to you an instrument of great good. None but such a man could have carried you successfully through the revolutionary times which tried men's souls, and ended in the establishment of your independence. None but such a man could have braced up your government after it had become so contemptible, from the imbecility of the federal system. None but such a man could have saved your country from being plunged into war, either with the greatest naval power in Europe, or with that which is most formidable by land, in consequence of your animosity against the one, and your partiality in favour of the other.'

P. 337.

The clergy of this country are our best scholars, but they are sometimes careless writers. Of this we have been once or twice satisfied in Mr. Bancroft's book. A '*pilot*' is one, who steers a vessel, as a guide directs us on land. For the use of that word, however, Washington's journal may be quoted, but its authority cannot affix a new meaning. '*Infilade*' is not an English word, but *enfilade* is naturalized from the French.—Of other words we cannot be so tender; and if '*necessitated*' is authorized by the dictionary, no one will deny, that it is inelegant. '*Tedium*' is not English; and

'relucted' comes very reluctantly into the ranks. 'Lit' for *lighted* has hitherto never been admitted into good company, and we hope never will be. At the entry of Washington into Trenton 'the young ladies *inchantingly* sung' an ode; but we wish the newspaper style had been changed. In a second edition, to which we hope Mr. Bancroft's essay will soon come, he may easily correct such trifling inaccuracies, as these, 'overcome at [by] the loss of;' 'to [with] which the house concurred;' 'the expectation that the war would this season terminate, as a dream passed away.' The orthography of South-Carolina and New-York throughout the volume we dislike; and we believe the names of de Ternay and Des-touches on page 268 are spelt wrong.

From either of these books the publick could not reasonably expect any information about projects or events, which may not be found in the valuable volumes of Chief Justice Marshall. In a note indeed Dr. Ramsay has informed us, we know not on what authority, that had Washington declined his appointment of commander in chief at the commencement of our war, that office was to have been conferred on general Ward of Massachusetts; and this is the only fact, which he could not have derived from Marshall. A very interesting relation is given by Mr. Bancroft of the kindness of Washington to the son of his old friend the Marquis La Fayette, which will undoubtedly be read with eagerness for its novelty and tenderness. We wish Judge Marshall had comprized in his last volume a circumstance, that so

well exhibits the prudence and benevolence of Washington.

ART. 68.

A geological account of the United States, comprehending a short description of their animal, vegetable, and mineral productions, antiquities, and curiosities. By James Mease, M. D. member of the American philosophical society, and corresponding member of the literary and philosophical society of Manchester. Philadelphia, Birch & Small. 1807. 12mo. pp. 496.

BOOK-MAKING has of late years been practised with great success in England; and it must be confessed, that in this country we have already made great progress in learning this valuable art. Some of the late travels in England are said to have been composed without the labour of journies, by the assistance of former tourists, in the snug elbow-chair of a circulating library. The work before us was undoubtedly made in some such place; but Mr. Mease has improved upon the plan, and by using the words of the original authors, has saved himself the trouble of clothing their ideas in new language, which was before thought necessary. In future, any person wishing to become an author, need know nothing of the subject upon which he makes his book; he has only to take such works of his predecessors as are nearest at hand, and transcribe *quantum sufficit*. The work of Mr. Mease is composed of shreds from authors, who have written upon North-America. It is a patch-work, where, though we

recognise the materials of authors who had once afforded us instruction and pleasure, yet we find them so cut up, arranged with so little judgment, and joined in so clumsy a manner, that we forget the delight we had derived from the originals.

The first hundred and eighteen pages, upon the internal structure, the climate, and the winds of the United States, are abridged, with a few little alterations and some small additions, from the English translation of Mr. Volney's work on these subjects. Mr. Mease does not inform us of this. He says, indeed, in his preface : 'In treating of the climate, the geology and winds of the United States, the divisions and remarks of Mr. Volney have been assumed as the basis.' But this does not imply the superstructure and the whole edifice. Nor does Mr. Mease lead us to conclude, that he has copied the work of Mr. V. either by changing the first person of the verb in the original for the neuter third person ; as, 'it is remarked,' for 'I have remarked ;' or by citing, among other authorities, Mr. V. himself, to support his own text. A note, indeed, sometimes corrects the statement in the text, as if it was the work of some other person. We cannot give Mr. Mease much praise for this abridgment. He has inserted some of those absurd passages, which we only pardon in Volney : for the excellence of the other parts of his work he has omitted some interesting details, and curtailed others. But as this part of the work will come under review, as the property of Mr. V. in some future number, we shall make no further remark upon it at present.

Mr. Mease next proceeds to

give a short account of each of the great lakes, which is principally taken from Morse's geography, and Mr. Morse's name is put at the bottom of the page. The account of lake Champlain however is transcribed from Williams' history of Vermont, but the name of Mr. W. is not mentioned.

From lakes Mr. Mease proceeds to rivers, of which he mentions but a small number. The account of these is taken from Morse, Belknap, and several others, but is quite cursory. At the end of this article he says : 'A further description of the rivers of the United States would be unnecessary, and not consistent with the nature of this work ; especially too as they are so fully described in the excellent geography of Rev. Dr. Morse, whose work should be in the hands of every one who wishes to become accurately acquainted with this country.' This compliment, we suppose, is meant to pay for the goods he has stolen from the Doctor.

The next chapter is upon the soil and vegetables of the United States. The first article is extremely superficial, and contains a short paragraph upon the soil of each state, mostly transcribed from Morse. He modestly allows, that the materials are principally from that gentleman. The other article upon vegetables does not inform us of any considerable number of the plants that grow in this country ; but it contains a tolerable description of a few of those that are mentioned. The account of grasses is full and satisfactory ; but we believe green-sward is not the only species that will root out clover the first year. The part upon oaks is from the valuable work of Michaux.

The next chapter is upon animals. Dr. Mease confines the meaning of this word to quadrupeds. Of the first article we can say that he gives a tolerable account of the few quadrupeds that he mentions. In the other articles upon birds, fishes, insects, and reptiles, he treats but of a few of each kind, and of these in general superficially; though we would except the descriptions of the locust, rattle-snake, and some others.

The fifth chapter is upon minerals and fossils, and mineral springs. The first article, we think, ought to have been introduced in the former part of the work, upon the internal structure, &c. It is superficial, and is rather an account of particular minerals, found in particular places, than a general description of the minerals of the United States. The minerals of New-England are almost wholly neglected.

The last chapter includes natural curiosities, cataracts, cascades, caverns, Western antiquities, and bridges. Among the natural curiosities we find floating islands, and solid rivers. Kind reader, we are not speaking of Gulliver's travels, but of a geological view of the United States, in which we are told that the most scrupulous attention has been exercised in ascertaining the accuracy of the facts and statements. The account of this solid river is so great a curiosity, that we shall insert it for the amusement of our readers, particularly of those who may live near its banks. 'Two hundred miles from the sound is a narrow,' (in Connecticut river) 'of five yards only, formed by two shelving mountains of solid rock, whose tops intercept the clouds. Through this chasm are compelled to pass all the waters,

which, in the time of the floods, bury the northern country. At the Upper Coos, the river then spreads twenty-four miles wide; and for five or six weeks, ships of war might sail over lands, that afterwards produce the greatest crops of hay and grain in all America. People, who can bear the sight, the groans, the tremblings, and surly motion of water, trees, and ice through this awful passage, view with astonishment one of the greatest phenomena in nature. Here water is consolidated without frost, by pressure, by swiftness between the pinching sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration, than no iron crow can be forced into it; here iron, lead, and cork have one common weight; here, steady as time, and harder than marble, the stream passes irresistible, if not swift as lightning. The electric fire rends trees in pieces with no greater ease, than does this mighty water. The passage is about four hundred yards in length, and of a zigzag form, with obtuse angles.' This first appeared, we believe, in Peters' account of Connecticut, a romance written by a refugee in England, during the American war; and it seems was too marvellous a story, even for the faith of Dr. Morse, from whom the rest of this article, excepting the natural bridge of Virginia, is transcribed. Cataracts and caves occupy the succeeding part of this chapter; then Western antiquities, from Harris' tour, and the whole concludes with a long account of the two bridges lately erected over the Schuylkill and Delaware.

We have thus given a short outline of Mr. Mease's book, and have in some parts pointed out the authors, from whose works Mr. M. has transcribed. We forbore from fatiguing the reader and ourselves

with pointing out the author of each particular paragraph. It will be sufficient to say, that we have found about three quarters of this book transcribed, from Volney, Morse, Williams, and other writers upon North-America, in general literally, but sometimes the words a little altered. Had we taken the trouble to have examined, we have no doubt but we should have found the greater part of the remainder transcribed in the same manner. Yet, with all this assistance, Mr. Mease does not give even a tolerable idea of the United States. Excepting in that part which is taken from Volney, no general idea is given upon any subject. He mentions but a small number of the rivers of the United States, and refers to Morse for the remainder. In the same manner he describes grasses and oaks minutely, while the greater portion of the vegetable tribe are passed over without notice. His account of birds includes only eleven species; and under the head of reptiles, we find an account only of the rattle-snake. We should likewise from this book suppose New-England destitute of minerals, nor should we know, that there were more than two bridges in the union. To have given a correct general idea of the United States, would have required judgment and investigation; Mr. Mease has exercised neither, but has contented himself with giving whatever presented itself upon the subject of his work. He introduces sufficient original matter to let us know that he has strong American feelings. He would show, that our animals are larger, our soil more productive, and our country more salubrious, than those in Europe. He would even attempt to prove, that the extreme variable-

ness of our climate makes it more healthy. The account he introduces, attributing the superiour mildness of the English winter to the gulf-stream is certainly erroneous; for when that stream strikes the banks of Newfoundland, although the greater part may be turned off towards Europe, yet a part returns in an eddy along the shores of Maine and Massachusetts, and would produce a greater effect upon our climate, than the larger body would upon the climate of England, (even supposing it reached that country) after having traversed the Atlantick.

The style must of course be as various as that of the authors, from whom Mr. Mease transcribes. We shall give one instance to show with how little ability he has put his work together. In speaking of the Monongahela, he says: 'At sixteen miles from its mouth is Youghigeny; this river is navigable with batteaux and barges to the foot of Laurel hill. This river is four hundred yards wide at its mouth.' The transcription from Morse begins with this last sentence, and in his work applies to the Monongahela; but as it is introduced by Mr. Mease it is said of the Youghigeny. Morse says the Muskingum is one hundred and fifty yards wide at its mouth; Mease in copying says two hundred and fifty. It would be needless to point out other errors. Whether Mr. Mease meant to deceive the publick by passing this off for an original work, we know not. On the one hand, he generally refers to the authors, from whom he has borrowed; on the other, he speaks of using them only as guides and authorities. He never uses double commas, but for short quotations, and frequently does not refer to the author from

whom he has transcribed. In passing sentence, we should not bring him in guilty of theft, but only of taking without leave; that is, if he was detected, we believe he could show, that he had inserted the author's name, and therefore only meant to borrow; if he escaped discovery, he would be very glad to enjoy the benefit of the theft. But allowing Mr. Mease the right of making use of any authors in the manner, that he has done those that we have mentioned, we can scarcely conceive of his having produced so miserable a book. A school-boy would have deserved whipping for not making a better. We can think of but one motive for its publication, and that is profit. If Mr. Mease finds the trade lucrative, and means to continue it, we would advise him in future not to prefix his name, lest the sale should be injured by a remembrance of the present work.

ART. 69.

A letter to Dr. David Ramsay, of Charleston, S. C. respecting the errors in Johnson's dictionary, and other lexicons. By Noah Webster, Esq. New-Haven, Oliver Steele & Co. 1807. pp. 28.

THIS letter is written in answer to one which the author received from Dr. Ramsay, in which the doctor remarks, that 'the prejudices against any American attempts to improve Dr. Johnson, are very strong in that city;' and it differs from the usual form of epistolary correspondence, in being 'transmitted through the medium of the press.'

Mr. W. is not surprised at the prejudices mentioned by his correspondent, since many, from those

of a similar kind, have been sacrificed for the supposed crime of philosophical heresy. He does not, however, institute an exact parallel between himself and Galileo, (whose case he cites) nor seem to aspire to any high order of martyrdom; but he affirms, that 'the man who is deterred, by opposition and calumny, from attacking what he knows to be fundamentally wrong, is no soldier in the field of literary combat.'

So much for the exordium: we now come to the principal subject of the letter; to the writer's remarks and statements, intended as a brief sketch of the errors and imperfections in Johnson's dictionary, and the lexicons of other languages, now used as classical books in our seminaries of learning.

We regret that Mr. W. has commenced this part of his performance with that indiscriminate and malignant abuse of Johnson's Dictionary, which originally issued from the foul pen of Horne Tooke. Though he has qualified this *stuff* by expressions, which imply that he would not be thought quite to countenance the ungenerous calumny that he quotes, yet we cannot but infer that he is willing it should pass for something very near the truth.

Mr. W. has undoubtedly investigated with much industry, and entirely to his own satisfaction, the Teutonic languages, and the circumstances of the introduction into Great Britain of those dialects, whence many of our words were derived. But there is something singular, if we rightly understand him, in his charging Johnson with 'a most egregious error, in supposing the Saxon language to have been introduced into Britain in the fifth century, after the Romans had abandoned the island; where-

as,' he farther observes, 'nothing is better attested in history, than that the branch of Teutonic, which constitutes the basis of our present language, was introduced by the Belgick tribes, which occupied the southern part of the island at the time, and evidently before Cæsar invaded the country.' We grant Mr. W. all that he can gain from this imbecile attack. The tribes that he mentions did indeed possess themselves of the coasts of Britain, and drive the natives into the interior; perhaps mixed with them, and had some influence on their language: but what specimens has Mr. W. *seen* of their language? Dr. Johnson asserts, and the assertion is supported by historians, that the Saxons entered Britain in the middle of the fifth century. The first specimens of writing which are called Anglo-Saxon are much posterior to that time; and it is to similar writings that our author repairs for his etymologies.

The first fault which Mr. W. has noticed in Johnson's Dictionary, is, 'the insertion of a multitude of words that do not belong to our language. The number of this class,' he thinks, 'probably rises to two thousand or more.' It seems however, as well from his own acknowledgment, as the authorities produced by the lexicographer, that they were noted in dictionaries before the time of Johnson. Their preservation has been altogether harmless, except by adding a few leaves to a ponderous work; for we are not acquainted with any writers who search their dictionaries to find out uncommon words: and the vocabulary preserved by memory, and used from recollection, is acquired by reading and conversation, instead of being drawn from the

pages of a lexicon. The liberty therefore complained of, is only the liberty of retaining what former writers of dictionaries had introduced.

The next objection brought against Johnson, is, his 'injudicious selection of authorities.'

'Among the authors cited in support of his definitions,' says the writer, 'there are indeed the names of Tillotson, Newton, Locke, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Swift, and Pope; but no small portion of words in his vocabulary are selected from writers of the seventeenth century, who, though well versed in the learned languages, had neither taste, nor a correct knowledge of English. Of these writers Sir Thomas Brown seems to have been a favourite; yet the style of sir T. is not English; and it is astonishing that a man attempting to give the world a standard of the English language, should have ever mentioned his name, but with a reprobation of his style and use of words.'

We are not particularly anxious to vindicate the style of sir Thomas, though we have some respect for his labours. But why, Mr. W., this falling out with writers of the seventeenth century? In what period of the world did Tillotson, Locke, Milton, and Dryden live and write? Milton published some of his smaller poems, and several tracts in prose, before *Brown's vulgar errors* saw the light. But Tillotson, Locke, and Dryden, having fortunately written a few years after the unlucky sir Thomas, fell into the Augustan age of English literature.

Mr. W. has indeed produced several passages from Brown, quoted by Johnson for authorities in the use of words, which sufficiently betray the affectation of the writer.

He is also 'confident that the number of words inserted, which are not authorized by any English writer, and those which are found only in a single pedantick author like Brown, and which are really no part of the language, amount to four or five thousand ; at least a tenth part of the whole number.' He infers therefore, that 'Johnson's dictionary furnishes no standard of correct English ; but in its present form tends very much to pervert and corrupt the language.' Let experience decide how far the work has this corrupting tendency.

The writer concedes, under the next head of objections, that 'it is questionable how far vulgar and cant words are to be admitted into a dictionary : but, if any portion of such be inadmissible, Johnson has transgressed the rules of lexicography* beyond any other compiler.'

It is well known that, of this description of words, some are adopted on the authority of Ben Jonson, and a large proportion on that of Shakspeare. Shakspeare is an author whom the English, and all who speak the same tongue, reverence and admire : an author who will last as long, as the language in which he wrote. He has been more read and more commented upon, than any other writer of his nation ; and hence certainly he is entitled to an explanation of those words, which, though not current in the eighteenth century, and used, many of them, as low, cant terms in his own age, are yet a part of written language. But what sort of reception has Johnson given to these words ? Mr. W. has examined his work too faithfully to be ignorant of the cautious manner in which he has introduced them. They are followed by such warnings as these : ob-

* A word made for the sentence.

solete—a low word—vulgar—sense vulgar and unauthorised, &c.

Mr. W. will not contend that Shakspeare and B. Jonson should in no case be quoted as authorities. One great end of a dictionary is to enable us, in reading as well popular as learned writers, to ascertain the meaning of words which are not familiar ; for without this means of interpreting them, whole passages might to the bulk of readers forever remain unintelligible. What thanks should we owe to the authors of our Latin dictionaries, if they had confined themselves to the elegant latinity of the age of Augustus ? And if we may, with Addison, suppose in prospect a state of change and refinement, when the papers of him and his coadjutors shall pass for quaint, vulgar, or obsolete language, a line may be drawn, which shall exclude them from the catalogue of pure English authors. If therefore Mr. W. will allow us to suggest a principle to qualify his own, it shall be this ; that new words however formed should be received with caution ; that old words should be rarely rejected ; while, at the same time, in many cases, they should be attended with such marks of censure, as Johnson has very judiciously adopted.

Another charge brought against Johnson's dictionary is, 'a want of just discrimination in his definitions.' The examples selected to prove this are in point, and they might be multiplied. It would be next to miraculous, if the definitions in such an immense vocabulary were not sometimes imperfect and sometimes false. There is much difficulty in explaining words nearly synonymous, especially words of a moral import. Simple words also, which cannot be made plainer, will suffer from a peri-

phrastic definition ; and ambiguous words, whose etymology as well as meaning is doubtful, must be settled by usage, instead of conjectural derivation.

With Mr. W.'s verbal criticism of several passages from different authors we find no fault : and the utility of verbal criticism, however much the practice of it may be despised, cannot be questioned by those, who will condescend to become the criticks, or be patient under their discipline. But with what sort of writers must we suppose Mr. W. to have been conversant, when he tells us that, 'in the course of thirty years reading, he has not found a single author who appears to have been accurately acquainted with the true import and force of terms in his own language.' The best of our writers, probably for want of sufficiently analysing their words, have sometimes used them in a vague or improper manner. Let us not revolt at the boldness of the accusation, when they are charged with ignorance of the import of words. No doubt Swift, and Temple, and Addison, and Johnson are children in language, and are to be deprecated as dangerous models, and avoided as men, who not only preserved abuses already existing when they wrote, but contributed to increase the corruption of the English tongue. We do not pretend to question Mr. W.'s superiority to these gentlemen as a writer ; though from our perverted taste, and long acquaintance with them, we do feel some reluctance in giving up such companions. However, perfection is very desirable ; and if our prejudices are not too inveterate, and we are not too restless and turbulent when our friends are roughly used, we have the assurance of a guide thro' the mazes of language,

who will never bewilder us ; whose clue, however subtle, will never break in the labyrinth of etymology ; who despises the beaten track, and thinks it not the more eligible, because it has always been pursued.

'Another particular,' says Mr. W., 'which is supposed to add greatly to the value of Johnson's dictionary, is the illustration of the various senses of words by passages from English authors of reputation. Yet, in fact, this will be found on careful examination to be one of the most exceptionable parts of his performance ; for two reasons : first, that no small share of his examples *are* [is] taken from authors who did not write the language with purity ; and second, that a still larger portion of them throw not the least light on his definitions.'

He allows that the examples taken from those authors, who did not use language with purity, have not had a very extensive effect in corrupting the style of writing : while many of them therefore in our view, are useful, the remainder of them are little worse than trifling, in the opinion of our author. The few examples which he has cited, as throwing no light on the definitions, are sufficient to his purpose. There is indeed no necessity of explaining what every one understands : and that Johnson has multiplied authorities under some words, without increasing the value of his work, as a dictionary for the explaining of terms, every one will admit. But we cannot join with Mr. W. in his assertion, that 'ONE HALF of Johnson's dictionary is composed of quotations equally as useless' as those he has selected. We are little anxious however to obtain the precise proportion, that the su-

perfluous bears to the useful ; and are free to declare our satisfaction with the plan of citing passages from reputable authors, and leaving the reader to judge, whether the word to be explained conform in the author quoted to the definition of the lexicographer. Nothing can be more fair in the writer of a dictionary : and instances exhibited from various standard writers to prove the meaning of a word, a meaning which has generally obtained, would satisfy us in opposition to all doubtful, or even indisputable etymologies.

Mr. W. observes, contemptuously enough, that 'whether this mode of constructing the work was intended for the benefit of the compiler, or whether it was a speculation of the booksellers, as Mr. Tooke has suggested, is hardly worth an inquiry.' But an inquiry would satisfy Mr. W. that neither the benefit of the compiler, nor the speculation of the booksellers, dictated the precise form of the Doctor's work. He originally formed it on a plan still larger than that which was executed; and intended that the examples quoted to illustrate his definitions, should serve the double purpose of explaining the meaning of words, and of amusing those who should examine his dictionary. He was obliged to reduce his quotations, if not in number, at least in quantity ; and thus to mutilate the extracts, which he had been at so much pains in collecting.

The last defect in Johnson's dictionary, that Mr. W. notices, 'is the inaccuracy of the etymologies.'

The tracing of words through a long line of ancestry, and giving the direct and collateral branches their respective places in the genealogical tree, is undoubtedly very

amusing to some minds, and is not an employment wholly useless and unsatisfactory. But if this sort of learning should be employed to unsettle orthography, and, in all cases, to restore words, whose sense is established, to the meaning of their etymons, however arbitrarily the meaning may have been departed from, we hesitate not to say that the etymologist may be much worse than idle. Under the pretence of purifying what is corrupt, and establishing that which is unsettled, he may form a glossary for a language of his own ; but not a standard for interpreting those writers, who use words in their generally received signification. We do not value Johnson particularly for his etymologies, nor deprecate Mr. W.'s intentions to render etymology perfect ; but we claim, in anticipation, the right to smile at what is fanciful, while we give to that which is plausible the praise of ingenuity, and commend what is probable, and adopt for truth that which admits not of doubt.

After selecting several examples from Johnson to 'shew what etymology is,' and producing a few of his own to shew what he 'intends it shall be in his proposed work,' Mr. W. proceeds to the *peroration*.

In this part of his performance he ascribes some general merit to Johnson, and speaks of the modern European improvements in philology. He has little hope of aid from his *fellow-citizens*, especially from those in the *large towns* : while, to heighten their ingratitude, he thinks his labours disinterested, and of far less consequence to himself than to his country. He condemns our servile dependence upon European authorities and opinions, and recommends it to our *citizens* to lay aside

their modern English books. This recommendation probably extends to all those writings that are called *English classicks*, which were doubtless included in Mr. W.'s thirty years reading, whose authors we are told 'were not accurately acquainted with the true import and force of terms in their own language.'

We have extended our review of this pamphlet beyond our common limits for the same number of pages; because it embraces several principles of the lexicographer, some of which are novel, and may prove dangerous in their operation.

We are not among the number of those, who contend that Johnson is faultless. His errors and defects are numerous; but the general plan of his dictionary is judicious, and the execution displays a wonderful extent of research into English writers, and as much accuracy and discrimination in the definitions, as could be expected in the time employed, and with the means that could be procured. It is certainly to be wished, that it were much nearer perfection than it actually is. We are not so bigoted to the work, as to discourage all attempts to improve it, or to produce a better: and we feel perfectly willing to indulge Mr. W. in his labours, even if they promise less in our opinion, than in his own. Not disposed to hazard our reputation as prophets, we forbear to foretell the merit of his intended production.

Mr. W. repeats the remark of Darwin, that 'the discoveries of Mr. Tooke unfold at a single flash the true theory of language, which had lain for ages buried beneath the learned lumber of the schools.' 'That author however,' he adds, 'has left the investigation incom-

plete. I shall pursue it with zeal, and undoubtedly with success.'

What then have we to fear? All the intricacies of language are to be unravelled. Why should we care how? It will be sufficient for us to enjoy the advantages that will result. It has indeed been remarked, that empiricks are always the most confident of curing disease, while they are ignorant of the constitutions of their patient, and the qualities of their prescriptions: but let not a parallel thence be forced for an ungenerous surmise against our author. He has a right to express his confidence at the beginning of the race; and if he should not gain the prize for which he started, it will be the time after his failure, for those who are disposed to worry a jaded author, to assail him with the weapons of *ridicule and malice*.

ART. 70.

An Essay on the rights and duties of nations, relative to fugitives from justice, considered with reference to the affair of the Chesapeake. By an American. Boston, D. Carlisle, 5, Court-street.

If foreigners should ever read our ephemeral and local essays, and should from the character of these form an opinion of our nation, and of the talents of its literary men, we should have no reason to complain of the contemptuous opinion, which every literary man in Europe entertains of the state of literature in our country. It is a source of no little satisfaction to us, that the work, of which we now propose to take some small notice, can never do any very extensive injury to the reputation of our country; for we much

question whether any man, who did not feel himself obliged to examine it in order to give to the publick some opinion of its character, would ever submit to the painful task of perusing it.

Who would believe, that a man in November 1807, would write a book in order to prove that the British attack on the Chesapeake was unjustifiable, because fugitives from justice could not *ex jure stricto* be demanded? Is there any man, but the writer of this pamphlet, so stupid, (descend, if you please, to the mob of Baltimore) as to conceive that the attack on the Chesapeake was predicated on the right to claim the delivery of fugitives from justice? Who does not know, that not an English editor, not a pensioner of St. James's, puts it on the ground of the right to demand fugitives from justice?

But this American, as he styles himself, has taken thirty pages to prove what no man can prove, and what is an absurdity on the face of the proposition, that "though the right to demand may be PERFECT, the obligation to deliver up is IMPERFECT." In other words, there may be a perfect right in one person to demand a thing, yet another person may not be bound to deliver it: a proposition beyond all our ideas of justice or law.

But the only question, which has arisen as to the Chesapeake, this writer wholly neglects, and indeed did not understand; and that is, how far nations are bound to deliver up the deserters from publick ships of friendly powers. When he is ready to explain away the cases stated in the late extra sheet of the Palladium, and to shew that though all other nations invariably deliver our deserters when demanded, and we deliver the seamen of all other nations but the

British, still that we have a right to refuse these latter, we shall be glad to hear him, provided he will promise to be less tedious and less witty.

This writer appears to have intended his pamphlet, as an answer to the Yankee Farmer, whom he is pleased to style a 'rusticated pettifogger.' We take no part in this controversy, but we leave it to the candid judgment of an unbiased publick, which of the two, the American, or the Yankee Farmer, appear to be the most skilled in the art of a pettifogger.

ART. 71.

Sermons on various subjects, evangelical, devotional, and practical, adapted to the promotion of christian piety, family religion, and youthful virtue. In 2 vols. 8vo. vol. 1, pp. 390.; vol. 2, pp. 423. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas, jr.

Two separate volumes of Sermons, with the same title page—one printed at Worcester, March, 1806, by I. Thomas, jr. 8vo. pp. 407.—The other printed at Springfield, by Henry Brewer, March, 1807. 8vo. pp. 400.

A view of the doctrines and duties of the christian religion, in forty-nine discourses on St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, with a preliminary discourse on the evidences of the gospel, especially those derived from the conversion, ministry, and writings of that Apostle. Worcester, I. Thomas, jr. Sept. 1801. 8vo. pp. 616.

By Joseph Lathrop, D.D. pastor of the first church in West-Springfield.

THREE of the volumes in the preceding list have been so long before the publick, and their cir-

ulation has been so extensive, that our report of their existence and merits may seem unnecessary or impertinent. There are, however, many readers of our Review, who are but partially acquainted with these works of Dr. Joseph Lathrop; and will be glad to learn what they are, and what has been their order of publication. A new edition of the three volumes alluded to is preparing for the press, and this circumstance authorizes our notice of them at this time.

That the sermons of this divine are popular, the number of volumes successively issued, and the demand for a new edition of those heretofore published, sufficiently prove. That they so well deserve to be popular is a pleasing consideration to the friends of religion and virtue, and the well-wishers to the respectability of the American pulpit. In respect to the selection of subjects, and the manner of treating them, the discourses of Dr. Joseph Lathrop are adapted to general edification. He is so plain and familiar a preacher, as to be intelligible and interesting to the common people; and yet so neat and correct as to satisfy the taste of the more enlightened and cultivated class.

Specimens of almost every species of pulpit address may be expected in a selection made, as we suppose this has been, from the weekly productions of an able and constant composer of sermons in the maturity or decline of his life. The several kinds of sermons have been classed under four heads; including sermons of *explication*, designed to unfold the meaning of a verse or passage of scripture, or clear up a character or narration contained in the sacred records, to be improved and applied by practical reflections: sermons, called

convictive or *probatory*, intended to produce in the hearers a sense of truths believed, or a belief of truths denied or questioned: *demonstrative* or *panegyric* sermons, in which a life, or a period of the life, or a virtue or vice in the character of a person mentioned in the volume of scripture, is presented in a striking light, as the object of admiration or blame, to engage imitation or excite caution and fear: sermons of *persuasion*, the leading design of which is to affect the heart and determine the will, by powerful addresses to the imagination and passions. All the other kinds are to a certain extent included in this last. In order to move and persuade, it is first necessary to instruct, to convince, and please.

In the five volumes under review, discourses of the different species recited, may be found; those of explication especially, in the sermons on the epistle to the Ephesians. In the choice of subjects, the author is mindful of the variety of character and situation in the members of a christian congregation. It is the most interesting and important part of the office of a pastor to feed the lambs of the flock. A large proportion of the instruction in these volumes is directed to the young. The author prefaces a sermon to his aged brethren in these words: 'You will permit an aged man, like yourselves, to speak this afternoon, a few words to you; or, if you please, he will, in your hearing, speak to himself.' Texts and topics are chosen with a view to silence or satisfy the sceptick, to awaken the thoughtless, to affect the listless, to edify the serious, and to comfort the afflicted. This preacher appears to delight to fill his mouth with mercies, and to

utter the mild and cheering accents of the promises. At the same time, he does not hesitate, when it is necessary, to take into his hand the lash of severity. He does not fail to marshal before the sinner the denunciations of the divine law.

The complexion of the *doctrines* in these discourses is what is commonly denominated evangelical or orthodox. They display the truths of natural religion, which revelation establishes and illustrates; the being, and perfections and providence of God, the necessity of piety and virtue, and a future retribution. They insist much, however, on the new relations created by christianity, and the peculiar method in which its blessings are conveyed to mankind. They speak frequently of native depravity, once or twice of *total* depravity, the consequence of the apostacy of the first pair; of the righteousness and sacrifice of Christ, as the ground of acceptance with God; of the necessity of faith in the atonement; of the influence of the Holy Spirit; and occasionally of personal election; and of the eternal duration of punishment. These doctrines are attempted to be stated with those qualifications, which are requisite to make them appear consistent with other principles universally admitted, with the essential and inherent mercy of God, with the moral agency and accountableness of man, with the interests of moral virtue and of christian good works. In explaining the peculiar doctrines of christianity, this divine is generally contented with the phraseology of the scriptures; and makes a sparing use of the technical terms and subtle distinctions of wrangling theologues, and metaphysical fabricators of

creeds and systems. In the exposition and application of scriptures in proof of doctrine, he displays much critical ingenuity and sound judgment. It may however be possible to show with a degree of plausibility, that he has in some instances misconceived the letter of the gospel; and that here and there metaphorical phrases are interpreted literally; and solitary passages, and expressions withdrawn from the context, and made the foundation of general propositions, without sufficient authority.

'It must not be dissembled,' says the author of *Horæ Paulinæ*, 'that there are many real difficulties in the christian scriptures; whilst at the same time more, I believe, and greater, may justly be imputed to certain maxims of interpretation, which have obtained authority without reason, and are received without inquiry. One of these, as I apprehend, is the expecting to find, in the present circumstances of Christianity, a meaning for, or something answering to, every appellation and expression, which occurs in scripture; or in other words, the applying to the personal condition of christians at this day, those titles, phrases, propositions and arguments, which belong solely to the situation of christianity at its first institution. I am aware of an objection, which weighs much with many serious tempers; namely, that to suppose any part of scripture to be inapplicable to us, is to suppose a part of scripture to be useless; which seems to detract from the perfection we attribute to these oracles of salvation. To this I can only answer, that it would have been one of the strangest things in the world, if the writings of the New Testament had not, like all other books, been composed for the ap-

prehension and consequently adapted to the circumstances of the persons they were addressed to; and that it would have been equally strange, if the great, and in many respects the inevitable alterations, which have taken place in those circumstances, did not vary the application of scripture language.

In this country, especially of late, it has become not unfrequent for preachers, who have the happiness to adopt the popular creed, to indulge themselves and their hearers in a dogmatical censorious manner of maintaining their sentiments. In contending for what they deem the faith once delivered, they display more zeal than candor, or modesty, or humility, or equity. Doubtless there are great temptations to this fault. It originates in infirmities and passions, to which good men are liable. It may consist with sincerity in religion, tho' it is no proof of their wisdom and no part of their piety. In the church, as in the state, the people are prone to like the doctrine, which makes them think highly of themselves and their leaders, and contemptuously of others, belonging to a different party. They are pleased to be told, your creed is your virtue and your neighbour's creed his crime. When he comes to your faith, enters into your views, admits your dogmas and uses your phrases, then receive him to your charity; for unity of affection is founded on unity of sentiment.

Dr. Lathrop's discourses are not soured by this narrow, uncharitable, detracting, arrogant, inveighing temper. When he introduces disputed points, it is rather in the spirit of a christian than of a sectarian; of an enlightened enquirer, who knows the difficulties in the

way to truth, and is aware that good minds may differ on the subjects in question, than of a theological champion, insolently assuming the "vantage ground," and aiming to trample under foot any one, who dares to look him in the face.

Dr. L. is a practical preacher. He treats doctrines as subservient to duties, and all genuine religious affections as tendencies to right action. He insists, that his hearers shall judge of their faith by their works, and not of their works by their faith. He aims to reconcile law and gospel, works and grace, the merits of Christ and the efforts of christians. He represents the great apparatus of divine revelation, as a proper instrument of conversion and improvement, by truths addressed to the understanding and motives addressed to the will; nor does he disparage the use of means by the tenet, that personal religion is a supernatural infusion. 'The conversion of sinners is a work of God, but a work adapted to their rational and intelligent nature.' 'There is a great variety in the means, by which the spirit awakens sinners to repentance and conviction. Some are excited to serious thoughtfulness by severe affliction or sudden danger; some by a seasonable admonition in private, or by a pertinent word in publick. Manassah was brought to repentance by means of his captivity; the jailor was awakened by an earthquake; Lydia's heart was opened in hearing the word; the Jews were pricked in the heart by Peter's solemn reproof.'

In regard to composition, the style and manner of these discourses are simple, natural, unaffected. The language is plain and perspicuous, consisting of words

in familiar use. Passages of scripture are interwoven throughout. The sentences are in general short, or if long, not involved. There are a few of our New-England peculiarities of diction, and a few idioms, which the critick may pronounce vulgar. The author, in the choice of words and the structure of sentences, has not neglected harmony. The ear is seldom offended with asperity and abruptness, and often pleased with the easy flow and numerous cadence of the composition. The style, though plain, is not dry. It is often enlivened by figures, but never set off with that gaudy painting so unsuitable to the dignity of pulpit eloquence. It has strains of sublimity and touches of pathos. The manner is generally interesting and animated, but not impassioned and vehement; sedate, but not languid nor dull. It pleases without dazzling, and impresses without agitating. These sermons are distinguished by good sense, and a serious, benevolent, and amiable spirit. They are the production of a mind, stored with a knowledge of divine things; much acquainted with the 'depths and shallows of the human heart'; attentive to the appearances of human nature in real life; and imbued with the temper of our holy and benign religion.

The subjects of the respective discourses are here detailed.

Vols. I. and II.

Ser. 1. God glorified in Heaven for the works of creation and providence. 2, 3. God works not for our sakes only, but for his name's sake. 4, 5. The work of redemption marvellous, but divine. 6. Shepherds glorifying God for the birth of a saviour. 7. John leaning on Jesus's bosom. 8. The spectators of the crucifixion smiting their breasts. 9, 10. God's works as king of saints, great and marvellous. 11, 12. God glorified in the punishment of sinners. 13.

Jesus rising early for secret prayer. 14, 15. Family prayer. 16. A christian family helping their minister. 17. Children in the temple praising the redeemer. 18. The necessity of early religion. 19. The youth assisted in forming his religious sentiments. 20. Samson shorn of his locks. 21. Reflections on Abraham's artifice with Abimelech. 22, 23. The kingdom of God without observation. 24. Innumerable gone to the grave, and every man drawing after them. 25. Reflections on harvest. 26. Christ's miracles recorded, that men might believe. 27. The credibility and importance of the gospel report. 28. The guilt and danger of unbelief. 29. Pilate's indifference to the truth. 30. The horrible guilt of those who strengthen the hands of the wicked. 31, 32. The wonderful destruction of those, who despise the gospel. 33. The cure and conversion of Naaman the leper. 34. The first fruits unto Christ. 35. The obscurity and uncertainty of the way of the wicked. 36. A paralytic healed on the faith of others. 37. A vial poured on the sun considered in accommodation to the present times. 38. Religion essentially included in the love of our country. 39. The influence of religion to enlarge the mind. 40. The changing nature of worldly things. 41. The infamous character of the churl. 42. The different effects of a similar education, illustrated in Herod and Manan. 43, 44. The dove-like descent of the spirit on Christ. 45. Parting with friends a painful trial. 46. Thankfulness to God for daily benefits. 47. The christian characterized, who has been with Jesus. 48. The impotent man at the pool of Bethesda. 49. The awakened jailor instructed in the way of salvation. 50. Micah's confidence and disappointment in his priest.

First separate Vol.

Ser. 1. The folly of atheism. 2. Enmity to the gospel, the true cause of unbelief. 3. Enmity to religion in general, the natural consequence of enmity to the gospel. 4. God to be glorified in all our actions. 5. God's goodness, the hope of the penitent, but no security to the finally impenitent. 6. The spirit of the Lord not straitened. 7. The sins and miseries of men, not God's doings, but their own. 8. The prophecy concerning the two witnesses explained. 9. The prophecy improved.

10. The renovation of all things. 11. Reflections on the story of the Ethiopian eunuch. 12. God to be worshipped in the beauty of holiness. 13. The importunate friend, or the efficacy of prayer. 14. Avarice and dishonesty covered with the pretexts of prudence and charity. 15. The wisdom and importance of religion. 16. The turning sinner's supplication to God. 17. The good man lying down in peace, and sleeping in safety. 18. The saint employed in his morning devotions. 19, 20. The shortness of time illustrated. 21. The pernicious effects of an inflamed tongue. 22. Noah's thankful egress from the ark. 23, 24. Impiety of offering to God that which costs nothing. 25. Joseph discovering himself to his brethren. 26. Abstaining from evil. 27. Doing good.

Second separate Vol.

Ser. 1. The fear of God. 2. The duty of speaking to the young. 3. Youth invited to the Lord's supper. 4. Early piety the comfort of old age. 5. The infirmities and comforts of old age. 6. Dry bones restored. 7. Birds and beasts preaching to men. 8. Joab laying hold on the horns of the altar. 9. Nothing to be refused, when the Lord hath need. 10. The gate of heaven strait, and many shut out of it. 11. The causes why many, who seek, cannot enter at the strait gate. 12. The awful condition of those, who shall be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. 13. Pilate's inscription on the cross of Christ. 14. The disciples gazing after their ascending Lord. 15. The rainbow around the throne. 16. No temple in heaven. 17. Universal praise for redemption. 18. The wheels of providence. 19. The temper of a christian with regard to moral good and evil. 20. Moral reflections on floods. 21. The impiety of alleging God's promise, as a reason for the neglect of duty. 22. The anointing of the spirit a sure evidence of our title to eternal life. 23. The death of the young lamented and improved. 24. Ezekiel's affliction in the death of his wife, and his behaviour under it. 25. The universal obligation of religion. 26. True religion pure and simple. 27. Folly conspicuous in a virtuous character.

We marked many extracts, for insertion, but have only room for the following :

Floods remind us of our *mutable* and *mortal* condition. Under a general sentence of mortality on the nation of Israel, Moses said, 'Thou carriest them away as with a flood.'

Time, like a stream, is rolling on, nor stops its course by day nor by night. Yea, it rushes forward with rapidity like a river swelled to a flood.

Streams bend their course in various directions ; but all, whatever direction they take, tend to the ocean, where their waters are swallowed up and lost. Men have their different objects and pursuits ; but all are alike hastening to the grave ; all are pressing forward to the world of eternal retribution.

All the rivers run into the sea, and would soon cease, were they not continued by a succession of waters. The human race is preserved by a succession of mortals. One generation passes away, and another comes. Thus the inhabitants of the earth abide from age to age. The race is called the same, but the mortals, which compose it, like the waters which constitute a river, are changing every day and every hour.

It would be wise for us often to reflect on our transient condition. We are passing away like the floods ; we have no abiding place on earth. Let us not set our affection on things below, but look forward to that world, to which we are going. Would a man hurried down a rapid stream, exult in his riches, because he passed along in sight of meadows, fields, groves and houses ? Would he call these his own, because he beheld them, and only just beheld them with his eyes ? Why should we, who are hurried through life, and carried away as with a flood, glory in the worldly objects, which we see, as we pass along, but scarcely have time to possess ?

We are changing our condition, and our relation to things around us. We are passing from place to place, from object to object, from scene to scene, like men floating down a stream. This moment flies, the next succeeds, and goes off like the former, giving place to a successor. One enjoyment, or amusement departs, and another comes. One design, or employment, is defeated or laid aside, and another taken up. Here we hope for better success. Here, again disappointed, we change our purpose. We walk in a vain show ; we are disquieted in vain. Like men

thrown out on a flood, we struggle for shore; we pant for rest; we seize the twig; it breaks; we are driven with the stream; we grasp the leaf; we sink; we pass from human sight, and are soon forgotten.

There is nothing stable here below;

no firm object by which we can hold, no solid ground on which we can stand. The anchor of our hope must be fixed in the grace and goodness, the promise and faithfulness of God.

pp. 298. 2d sep. vol.

CATALOGUE OF NEW PUBLICATIONS FOR DECEMBER.

Sunt bona, sunt quedam mediocria, sunt mala plura.—MART.

NEW WORKS.

A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the command of Captains Lewis and Clarke, of the Army of the United States, from the Mouth of the Missouri through the Interior parts of North-America, to the Pacifick Ocean, during the years 1804, 1805, and 1806. By Patrick Gass, one of the persons employed in the expedition. With Geographical and Explanatory Notes by the publisher. Price one dollar.

The Manures most advantageously applicable to the various kinds of soils; and the cause of their beneficial effects. By Richard Kirwan, F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. author of the Elements of Mineralogy, &c. Price 37 cents. Philadelphia, Kimber, Conrad and Co.

Politicks for farmers. Coarse copies, price 25 cents. Philadelphia, W. Duane.

A Traverse Table to every degree and quarter degree of the compass of horizon. By Mr. Garnett. Price 75 cents. New-York, E. Sargeant.

The American Register or General Repository of History, Politicks, and Science, for 1806-7, Vol. I. Published by Conrad & Co. Philadelphia, &c. and Andrews and Cummings, Boston. T. and G. Palmer, printers. 8vo. pp. 220. 1807.

Thoughts on the Scripture account of Faith in Jesus, and Life through his name; in a series of Letters. By Thomas Dobson. 12 mo. 75 cts. bound. Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson, 1807.

Letters to Thomas Paine, in reply to his last pamphlet, entitled 'Examination of the Passages in the New Testament, quoted from the Old, and called prophecies concerning Jesus Christ,

and shewing the fallacy and incompetency of Deism, as a rule for the regulation of human conduct.' By Peter R. Maison. New-York, H. G. Southwick.

Some Thoughts on the present dispute between America and Great Britain. By Thomas Green Fessenden. 8vo. New-York. Price 38 cts.

Constitution of the New-England association of Inventors and patrons of useful arts. 8vo. pp. 24. Boston, E. Lincoln. 1807.

The Trial of the Hon. Maturin Livingston, against James Cheetham, for a Libel; held before the Hon. Judge Spencer. Taken in short hand, by William Sampson, Esq. counsellor at law. 8vo. pp. 64. New-York, S. Gould. 1807.

A complete Refutation of the calumnies, which have been circulated to traduce the courage of Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, grounded on authentick documents. By a Foe to Calumny. 8vo. pp. 12. New-York, printed for the author. 1807.

The Trial of Alpheus Hitchcock, before the Hon. William W. Van Ness, Esq. for the murder of his wife by poison, at a court of oyer and terminer at Sullivan, Madison county, New-York, July 3, 1807. Reported by George Richards, jun. 8vo. pp. 52. Utica, printed for G. Richards, jun. 1807.

Constitution of the first Society of Unitarian Christians in the city of Philadelphia, adopted August 23, 1807. With explanatory observations. 8vo. pp. 24. Philadelphia, Bartram and Reynolds. 1807.

Peace or War? or thoughts on our affairs with England. By James Cheetham. 8vo. pp. 44. New-York, Mathias Ward, 149 Pearl-street. 1807.

A Book.

*Je n'ai pas de nom.
Je vous prie de m'en donner un.*

Duc D'Orleans.

Nonem non est nobis.

Duportail

8vo. pp. 24. New-York, Ezra Sargeant.

A Sermon, preached at Belleville, in the 4th parish of Newbury, Nov. 24, 1807, at the dedication of the new Meeting-house in that place. By Rev. James Miltimore. Newburyport.

Crito's Letters on the commercial representation and the seat of Government. 25 cts. Philadelphia, S. F. Bradford.

The French Tutor, containing rules and exercises intended to exemplify the the French Syntax: By Du Moutin, sworn interpreter of the French language, of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Hopkins and Co.

A Discourse delivered at Milton, September 9, 1807; being the day appropriated for the dedication of the academy in that place. By Thomas Thacher, A. M. minister of a church in Dedham. Published by request of the Academy. 8vo. pp. 23. Dedham, H. Mann.

A Discourse delivered at the funeral of Mrs. Mary Woodward, consort of the late Hon. Professor Woodward, in the meeting-house near Dartmouth college, March 29, 1807. By Roswell Shurtleff, professor of Divinity in Dartmouth college. Second edition. 8vo. Hanover, Moses Davis.

Thomas Dobson, Philadelphia, has published A Tour in Zealand in the year 1802, with a historical sketch of the battle of Copenhagen under Lord Nelson in 1801.

NEW EDITIONS.

Simple Tales, by Mrs. Opie. 2 vols. 12mo. price two dollars in boards.

Vol. VI. Part II. of The New Cyclopaedia, or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. By Abraham Rees, D.D., F.R.S., editor of the last edition of Chambers's Dictionary, with the assistance of eminent professional gentlemen. First American edition, revised, corrected, enlarged, and adapted to this country, by several literary and scientific characters. 4to. Price \$4 for the half-vol. Philadelphia, S. F. Bradford. L. Blake, No. 1, Cornhill, agent, Boston.

Travels in the year 1806, from Italy to England, through the Tyrol, Styria, Bohemia, Galicia, Poland, and Livonia; containing the particulars of the liberation of Mrs. Spencer Smith, from the hands of the French police, and of her subsequent flight through the countries abovementioned; effected and written by the Marquis De Salvo, member of the academy of sciences and literature at Turin, &c. First American edition, with a likeness of the marquis. 12mo. 88 cts. bds. Troy, N.Y. Wright, Goodenow, & Stockwell.

The Discarded Son, or Haunt of the Banditti; a tale, by Regina M. Roche, authoress of the Children of the Abbey. 2 vols. 12mo. \$2 bound. New-York, Alsop, Brannan & Alsop.

To-morrow; or the Danger of Delay, by Maria Edgeworth. Price 31 cents. New-York, E. Sargeant.

Religious Pieces: containing Pious Reflections for every day of the month, by Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray; the Superiority of religious views, by John Langhorn, D.D.; the Choice Criterion of Religion by the Rev. J. Moir, A.M.; on Gaining the Favour of God, by Mrs. Chapone. Price 25 cents. New-York, E. Sargeant.

The Contrast. By Maria Edgeworth. Price 37 cents. New-York, E. Sargeant.

The Student's Chemical Pocket Companion. By W. S. Jacobs, M.D. Philadelphia, Matthew Carey. 75 cts. bds.

WORKS IN THE PRESS.

Vol. III. of Boswell's Life of Johnson. Boston, Andrews and Cummings.

The Pharmacopœia of the Massachusetts Medical Society, 12 mo. Boston, Greenough and Stebbins.

Saul, a poem by Sotheby. 12mo. Boston, David Carlisle.

Wright, Goodenow and Stockwell of Troy, have in the press, and will publish in January, "Observations on Abortion"; containing an account of the manner in which it takes place, the causes which produce it, and the method of preventing or treating it: by John Burns, Lecturer on Midwifery, and Member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasglow," in one small neat volume duodecimo, from the second London edition.

Wright, Goodenow & Stockwell, have in press, a new Medical Work, entitled "A view of the Nervous Temperament;" by Thomas Trotter, M. D.

In the press, and to be published in numbers at stated periods, illustrated by elegant copperplate engravings, the American Military Library, being a repository of all that is necessary to a due knowledge of the principles and practice of modern tactics, from the first elements of discipline, through all the details of manœuvre, and the combination of every species of troops that constitute armies, particularly adapted to the military of the United States, comprehending the whole of the modern French system of discipline. Philadelphia, Wm. Duane.

Alsop, Brannan and Alsop, of New-York, have in press the first volume of Schoale's and Lefroy's Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery, in Ireland, during the time of Lord Redesdale.

Alsop, Brannan and Alsop, have in press, and will shortly publish the following works. Cruise's Digest of the Laws respecting Real Property, in 4 volumes royal 8vo. containing the seven vols. of the London copy. Natural and Civil History of the Spanish Province of Chili in South America, translated from the original Italian of the Abbe Molina, with notes from the Spanish and French translations, by an American gentleman—2 volumes 8vo. The History of Chili is now for the first time offered to the publick in an English dress. The original work is held in the highest estimation by the foreign literati in whose respective languages it has appeared. An English translation has long been a desideratum to those acquainted with the Abbe Molina's merits. Curran's speeches—1 volume 8vo. with a portrait of the greatest forensick orator of modern times. Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, abridged—1 volume square 12mo. Cains' Practice of the State of New-York.

Thomas Kirk, of Brooklyne, has in the press, the Discarded Son, a novel by Mrs. Roach.

Wm. P. Farrand and Co. of Philadelphia, have in the press Douglass, Wilson, and Cowper's Reports; Roberts on Fraudulent Conveyancing; Kyd on Awards; and Watson on Partnership. W.P.F. and Co. are preparing to put

Bacon's Abridgment to press, with the addition of English and American laws, since Mr. Gwillim's notes were added.

Messieurs Westcott & Co. of Washington City, have in the press "A minute, accurate and impartial report of the Trial of Col. Aaron Burr, on an indictment for high treason, before the Circuit Court of the United States held in Richmond, May term, 1807. Including the whole of the testimony, the arguments of the counsel at length, opinions of the court, and also all the proceedings during the examinations and on his trials for treason and misdemeanour." The report of this case was taken in short-hand by a stenographer employed for the special purpose, and who has been sworn to its fidelity and accuracy. The number of pages, which the work will contain, cannot yet be ascertained; but it is computed it will be comprised in about 1500 pages of an octavo size. It will be delivered to subscribers in volumes, in boards, at the rate of 50 cts. for each 100 pages.

Booth on real actions. Revised and corrected, with references to the American Decisions, and to the statutes of New-York. By John Anthon, Esq. counsellor at law. To which will be added, by way of appendix, a treatise on the nature of real actions, and particularly on the action of Dower. By James Emmett, counsellor at law, Poughkeepsie. New-York, S. Gould.

WORKS ANNOUNCED.

John E. Hall, Esq. attorney at law, of Baltimore, has finished and will speedily publish a translation of the Praxis Supremæ Curix Admiralitatis, Francis-ci Clerke, prioribus omnibus Editionibus multo auctor atque emendatior, unâ cum Indice et Notis nunquam antehac additis. Editio quinta emendata, 1798.

Mr. Dobson, of Philadelphia, proposes printing by subscription, the History of Baptism, by the Rev. R. Robinson (of Cambridge, England) abridged by the Rev. Samuel Jones, D. D. in 1 vol. 8vo. of 500 pages. Price in boards 2 dollars.

Smith and Maxwell, Philadelphia, are preparing for the press, An Essay on the Manner and Genius of the Literary Character, by D'Israeli.

Thomas Green Fessenden, Philadelphia, is about publishing a work to be entitled "Register of Arts, or a Compendious view of the most useful Modern Discoveries and Inventions." In this work it is intended—1. To collect and in some instances abridge from European Philosophical Journals whatever may be judged to be of practical utility in America, relating to Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Agriculture and the Arts—2. To give a description of the most important Inventions, Discoveries and Improvements in Philosophy and Arts, which are the fruits of American genius, &c. &c. The work will be printed in a handsome 8vo. of about 400 pages.

Proposals are issued by J. Milligan of Georgetown, for publishing Malthus on Population, in two volumes.

Proposals have been issued in Philadelphia, for publishing, by subscription, the ancient and modern musick of Ireland, with songs suited to the character and the expression of its beautiful melodies. The work is to appear in 4to. at \$5 a volume; the number of vols. not mentioned.

We understand that correct editions of the Classicks, and of Classical Dictionaries, are about to be undertaken by two literary gentlemen of New-York—and we are authorized in saying that I. M. Mason, D.D. is one of the editors. It is expected that a prospectus will appear shortly. It is intended to commence with Virgil and Ainsworth's Dictionary.

B. B. Hopkins and Co. Philadelphia, will shortly publish Dr. Reese's Domestic Medical Guide, and Dr. Andrew's Elements of Logick.

Mr. Ebenezer Eaton, Danville, Vt. proposes to publish, A Historical Memoir on the war between the United

States of America and the African State of Tripoli. By Ebenezer Eaton.—Collected from the journals and notes of Richard O'Brien and William Eaton, Esquires, late Consuls to Algiers and Tunis, and under the inspection and guarantee of the latter. The work will be comprised in 3 volumes of handsome octavo, of pica, 300 to 400 pages each; on fine paper, in the neatest modern style of printing; and will be delivered to subscribers at 2 dols. 33 cents each volume, and to non-subscribers at 2 dols. 50 cents in boards.

B. and T. Kite, Philadelphia, propose publishing in one volume octavo, Elements of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, by J. Murray—price 2 dollars 50 cents.

Thomas Dobson of Philadelphia, proposes publishing by subscription a new Translation of the sacred Scriptures. The old Testament from the Greek of the Septuagint; and the new Testament from the most correct Greek Text; with occasional notes. By Charles Thompson, late secretary to the Congress of the United States. It is proposed to print the work elegantly with a pica type, with great care and accuracy, in two large quarto volumes; and to those who subscribe before the printing of it commences, it will be delivered at \$10 for each copy in boards to be paid when the first volume is finished.

Moses Davis, of Hanover, New Hampshire, proposes reprinting by subscription a rare and valuable work, entitled, The Religion of Nature Delineated. By William Wollaston. From the 8th London edition of 1759. This work will be comprised in one octavo volume of between 3 and 400 pages, price to subscribers \$2 bound.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.

Among the various works to which the literary enterprize of modern times has given birth, a complete & authentick body of British Biography is still wanting. The last edition of the Biographia Britannica, as far as it was published, is in many respects highly valuable; but its slow progress under the direction of Dr. Kippis, and the circumstances under which it was left at his death, oc-

casioned its suspension at that time, and afterwards its final abandonment. Had that work, however, been brought to its regular completion, its voluminous contents and inconvenient arrangement would have precluded it from answering many important purposes which might be accomplished by a different plan.

The form of a Dictionary hitherto adopted seems to have nothing in its

favour, except the convenience of reference, which may be equally well attained by means of an Index; while it is liable to strong objection, as confining to reference only the use of a work so fortuitously put together. On the contrary, a British Biography, arranged in chronological order, and so classed as to bring into one point of view the several descriptions of eminent persons who have lived at the same period, might be made to comprise, in one regular and connected work, a literary and philosophical history of the country, as well as an interesting collection of individual lives.

Mr. Malkin, influenced by such considerations, has embarked in an undertaking of this nature. The work is, however, of too great an extent, and of too great variety in its subjects, to be performed by any individual. It is, nevertheless, necessary that the publication should proceed under the superintendence of some one person, not merely for the purpose of executing the mechanical duties of editorship, but of communicating an uniformity and consistency to the whole. The labour and responsibility of this task Mr. Malkin proposes to take upon himself, availing himself, in the general execution of the work, of the assistance of such literary men as may coincide with his views, and are willing to contribute towards carrying them into effect.

In pursuance of the double object aimed at by the editor, Historical and Biographical, it is designed to introduce occasional chapters in the course of the work, characterising and connecting the successive periods, as well as reviewing the state and progress of government, science, literature, and manners. In these chapters may be introduced brief notices of individuals, who having attained some degree of eminence, yet may not be thought sufficiently considerable to require a separate and formal article. Thus the work will be eurtailed of many uninteresting lives; needless repetitions will be avoided, and the subjects treated at large will be confined, as it is desirable they should be, to those of the most important and interesting description. It is intended that these articles in general should, in point of copiousness, be far less prolix than those of the *Biographia Britannica*, and that notes should, if possible, be altogether avoided, except-

ing by way of reference to authorities, which should almost universally be given; at the same time, the lives are meant to be more full and particular than in any of the Dictionaries. In short, it is the intention of the conductor to steer a middle course between a tedious detail of minute particulars on the one hand, and a mere register of dates and facts on the other, and thus to make it a book of entertainment, as well as of authority and utility for the purpose of reference.

— AMERICAN.

NEW HAVEN, DEC. 22.—On Monday the 14th inst. at about break of day or a little after, the weather being moderate, calm, and the atmosphere somewhat cloudy and foggy, a *meteor* or *fire ball*, passing from a northern point dislodged over the western part of this state, with a tremendous report. At the same time several pieces of stony substance, fell to the earth in Fairfield county. One mass was driven against a rock and dashed into small pieces, a peck of which remained on the spot. About three miles distant, in the town of Weston, another large piece fell upon the earth, of which a mass of about thirty pounds weight remains entire—and was exhibited the same day at town meeting. A small mass has been sent to Yale College, and examined by a number of gentlemen. It was immediately perceived by Professor Stilman to contain a metal—and on presenting it to a magnet, a powerful attraction proved it to be iron.

This is we believe, the first instance in the United States, in which the substance of this species of meteor has been found on the earth, tho' it has been often done in Europe. Fortunately the facts, respecting this wonderful phenomenon, are capable of being ascertained and verified with precision, and an investigation will, we understand, be immediately commenced for the purpose.

We request Gentlemen who may have observed it in distant parts of the state to favour the public with their observations. It is desirable to ascertain the course or direction of the meteor; the point of compass in which it appeared at different places; its general appearance and velocity; the manner of its explosion, and the time between the explosion and the report.

THE POLITICAL CABINET.

Registra in usum historiae complectuntur principum edicta, senatum decreta, judiciorum processus, orationes publice habitae, epistolae publice missae, et similia, absque narrationis contextu, sive filo continuo.—Bacon de Aug. Sci.

LETTER

From the Secretary of the Treasury, enclosing a Report, prepared in obedience to the acts supplementary to the act, entitled "An Act to establish the Treasury Department."

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose a Report, prepared in obedience to the act entitled "an act to establish the treasury department."

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

Sir, your obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

The honourable the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

REPORT.

In obedience to the directions of the act supplementary to the act, entitled "An act to establish the Treasury Department," the Secretary of the Treasury respectfully submits the following Report and Estimates :

REVENUE & RECEIPTS.

The nett revenue arising from duties on merchandize and tonnage which accrued during the year 1804, amounted, after deducting that portion which arose from the additional duties constituting the Mediterranean fund, to \$12,673,558

And that which accrued during the year 1805, amounted, after making a similar deduction, as will appear by the statement (A) to 13,033,823

It is ascertained that the nett revenue which has accrued during the three first quarters of the year 1806, exceeds that of the corresponding quarters of the year 1805 ; and that branch of the revenue may, exclusively of the Mediterranean fund, be safely estimated for the present at thirteen millions of dollars.

The statement (B) exhibits in detail the several species of merchandize, and other sources, from which that revenue was collected during the year 1805.

It appears by the statement (C) that the sales of the publick lands, have, during the year ending on the 30th Sept. 1806, exceeded 473,000 acres. The actual payments by purchasers have, during that period, amounted to 850,000 dollars, of which sum near 700,000 dollars have been paid in specie, and the residue in stock of the publick debt. The specie receipts from that source may, after deducting charges and the five per cent. reserved for roads, be estimated for the ensuing year at five hundred thousand dollars.

The receipts arising from the permanent revenue of the United States, may therefore, without including the arrears of direct tax and internal revenues, the duties

on postage and other incidental branches, be computed for the year 1807, at thirteen millions and five hundred thousand dollars,

13,500,000

And the payments into the treasury, during the same year, on account of the temporary duties constituting the Mediterranean fund, are estimated at one million of dollars,

1,000,000

14,500,000

Making in the whole an aggregate of fourteen millions and five hundred thousand dollars.

EXPENDITURES.

The permanent expenses are estimated at \$11,400,000, and consist of the following items, viz.

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. The annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt, of which sum not more than 3,600,000 dolls. will, for the year 1807, be applicable to the payment of interest, | 8,000,000 |
| 2. For the civil department, and all domestick expenses of a civil nature including invalid pensions, the light-house and mint establishments, the expenses of surveying public lands, the fourth instalment of the loan due to Maryland, and a sum of 130,000 dolls. to meet such miscellaneous appropriations, not included in the estimates as may be made by Congress, | 1,150,000 |
| 3. For expenses incident to the intercourse with foreign nations, including the permanent appropriation for Algiers, | 200,000 |
| 4. For military and Indian departments, including trading houses, and the permanent appropriation for certain Indian tribes, | 1,150,000 |
| 5. For the naval establishment | 900,000 |
| | <hr/> 11,400,000 |

The extraordinary demands for the year 1807, already authorized by law, amount to two millions seven hundred thousand dolls, viz.

The balance of the American claims assumed by the French convention, which remained unpaid on the 30th Sept. last amounting to

700,000

And the two millions of dollars appropriated by the act of the 13th of February, 1806, making provisions for defraying any extraordinary expenses attending the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations,

2,000,000

2,700,000

14,100,000

Making altogether fourteen millions one hundred thousand dollars. From which it appears, that besides a surplus of four hundred thousand dollars, the resources of the ensuing year will be sufficient to meet the current demands; and to discharge, without recurring to the loan authorized by the last mentioned act, the extraordinary appropriation of two millions for foreign intercourse.

It is here proper to state, that under the authority given by that act, a credit of one million of dollars has been opened in Holland to the ministers of the United States appointed to treat with Spain. Should the credit be used, the million will be charged to the proper appropriation; but although the balance chargeable to the expenditure of the year 1807, will in that

case be only one, instead of two millions, as stated in the above estimate, the general result will be the same ; as it will then be necessary to replace in Holland the million thus employed, for a different object than the payment of the foreign debt, to which it now stands charged.

The balance in the treasury amounted, on the 30th day of Sept. 1805, to 4,558,664 dolls. 2 cents, and on the 30th day of September, 1806, to 5,496,969 dollars, 77 cents. But it will, on account of the heavy payments to be made in the course of this month, for the publick debt, be probably reduced on the 1st January, 1807, to a sum not much exceeding four millions of dollars.

PUBLICK DEBT.

The annexed note of the proceedings of the commissioners of the sinking fund, marked (E) shows that a considerable portion of the annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars was applicable this year to the reimbursement of purchase of the domestick debt: no more than 17,517 dollars 61 cents were offered at market price, and accordingly purchased. The reimbursement of the navy 6 per cent. stock, amounting to 711,700 dollars, was therefore effected on the 30th day of Sept. last, and that of the 5 1-2 per cent. stock, amounting to 1,847,500 dollars, is advertised for the 1st of Jan. next. The payment of the last mentioned sum will be made by the treasury in the course of this month. Although a more than usual portion of the appropriation for the callendar year, 1806, falls, for that reason, on the last quarter, it appears by the statement (D) that the payments on account of the principal of the publick debt, have, during the year ending on the 30th day of Sept. 1806, amounted to near three millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

It appears by the same statement, that the payments on account of the principal of the publick debt, have from the 1st of April, 1801, to the 30th of Sept. 1806, amounted to 21,203,903 50

The payments on the same account to be made by the treasury in the course of this month, are—

For the reimbursement of the five and a half per cent. stock,	1,847,500	
For the annual reimbursement of the six per cent. and deferred stocks,	993,389 19	
Amounting together, to		2,840,889 19
		<hr/> 24,044,792 74 <hr/>

And making the total of principal of the publick debt, reimbursed from the first of April, 1801, to the first of January, 1807, more than twenty-four millions of dollars.

During the same period there have also been paid to Great-Britain, in satisfaction and discharge of the money which the United States might have been liable to pay in pursuance of the provisions of the sixth article of the treaty of 1794, two millions six hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars ; and to the holders of bills drawn by the minister of the United States, at Paris, on account of American claims assumed by the convention with France a sum not exceeding three millions and fifty thousand dollars ; neither of which sums is included in the preceding statement of debt redeemed.

As the only parts of the publick debt which the United States have a right to reimburse during the year 1807 consist of the annual reimbursements of the six per cent. and deferred stocks, estimated at 1,540,707 dollars ; and of the four and half per cent. stock, amounting to 176,000 dollars, it will not be practicable, unless purchases can be effected within the limits prescribed by law, to apply, during that year, the whole of the annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars. The unexpended balance, together with appropriations for the year 1808, will enable the United States to reimburse, on the 1st January, 1809, the whole of the eight per cent. stock, which is irredeemable before that day.

But in order that congress may have a clear view of the situation of the publick debt, after the year 1808, and be enabled to decide on the propriety of making further legislative provisions for that object, it appears necessary to state distinctly : 1st. The operations which will take place in relation to the debt during the years 1807 and 1808 : 2dly. The several species and aggregate of debt, which will have been extinguished between the 1st April, 1801, and the 1st January, 1809 : 3dly. The several species and aggregate of debt remaining unpaid on the last mentioned day : 4thly. A comparative view of the revenue and annual payments on account of the debt after that day.

I. The payments to be made during the years 1807 and 1808, on account of the principal and interest of the publick debt, consists of the following items, viz. Dollars.

Interest and reimbursement of the six per cent. and deferred stocks,	6,688,296 08
Of which sum, the sum required for interest, is	3,512,337 83
And the reimbursement of principal will amount to	3,175,958 25
	<hr/> 6,688,296 08
Interest and charges on all the other species of debt,	3,529,457 50
Principal of the eight, and four and a half per cent. stocks,	6,538,400
	<hr/> 16,756,153 58
Making altogether,	
That is to say, for interest,	7,041,795 33
And in reimbursement of principal,	9,714,358 25
	<hr/> 16,756,153 58

This sum exceeds, by only 756,000 dolls. the sixteen millions appropriated by law for those 2 years, and that difference may be supplied, according to law, from the surplusses of revenue already accrued, which are sufficient for that purpose ; and which it will be eligible to apply in that manner, in order that the United States may not continue to pay an interest of eight per cent. any longer than they are compelled to do it by the terms of the loan.

II. The amount of debt redeemed from the 1st April, 1801, to the 1st of Jan. next, has been already stated to be 24,44,792 74

And the principal which will be reimbursed during the years 1807 and 1808, amounts by the preceding statement to 9,714,358 25

Making together, more than thirty-three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, reimbursed between the 1st of April, 1801, and the 1st of Jan. 1809, 33,759,150 99

Which sum consists of the following items, viz.

The whole of the foreign debt,	10,236,108 05
The whole of the loans formerly obtained from the bank of the United States, and of the navy six, five and a half, four and a half, and eight per cent. stocks.	12,537,600
Annual reimbursement of the six per cent. and deferred stocks,	10,631,575 67
Payments in various species of stock for publick lands, stock purchased, and unfunded debt reimbursed,	353,867 27
	<hr/> 33,759,150 99

III. The debt remaining unpaid on the 1st day of January, 1809, will consist of the following species :

Unredeemed amount of old six per cent. and deferred

stocks, reimburseable only at the rate of eight per cent. a year (for principal and interest) on the nominal amount,	27,142,357 21
Three per cent. stocks,	19,019,481 56
1796 six per cent. stock, redeemable in 1819,	80,000 00
Louisiana stock, reimburseable in four annual instal- ments, in the years 1818, 1819, 1820 and 1821,	11,250,000 00
	<hr/> 57,491,838 77 <hr/>

Amounting altogether to near fifty-seven millions and five hundred thousand dollars.

The Louisiana stock cannot be reimbursed before the period fixed by the contract; the gradual operation of the annual reimbursement will extinguish the old six per cent. in the year 1818, and the deferred stock in 1824; after which year, the only remaining incumbrance will be the interest on the three per cent. stock, which in its present shape, may be considered as irredeemable. Purchase cannot be relied on, as the application of even an inconsiderable sum would raise the stocks above the prices limited by law. It follows that all the species of debt, on which the entire annual appropriation of 8,000,000 of dollars could operate, will have been reimbursed prior to the year 1809; that the remaining debt cannot, without some modifications, assented to by the publick creditors, be more rapidly or completely discharged than is here stated; and that the annual payments on that account, will, after the year 1808, and prior to the year 1818, be reduced to the interest and annual reimbursement, amounting to near 4,600,000, as will more fully appear by the annexed table, marked (G.)

IV. The revenue derived from customs during the year 1802, which was a year of European peace, was much less in proportion than that of any of the immediately preceding or following years, and yet exceeded ten millions of dollars. As it has been ascertained that the population of the United States increases at the rate of thirty-five per cent. in ten years; the revenue derived from customs for the year 1812, may be estimated at thirteen millions five hundred thousand dollars, to which, adding only five hundred thousand dollars, for the annual proceeds of the sales of publick lands will give fourteen millions of dollars, for the total revenue of that year, or for the average revenue of the years 1809—1815. And this must be considered as a very moderate computation, since it does not include the revenue derived from New-Orleans; is predicated on the supposition that the wealth of the United States increases in no greater ratio than their population; and does not exceed the sum, which, exclusively of the Mediterranean fund was received last year into the treasury.

The annual payments on account of the publick debt, will, during the same period, amount, as has been already stated, to 4,600,000 dolls. All the other expenses of the U. S., whether domestick or foreign, of a civil nature or for the support of the existing military and naval establishments, do not at present exceed \$3,500,000. The total annual expenditure, allowing \$400,000 a year for contingencies, may therefore be estimated after the year 1803, at eight millions and a half; which deducted from a revenue of fourteen millions, will leave a nett annual surplus of five millions and a half of dollars.

The question now recurs, whether a portion of that surplus would not be most advantageously employed in hastening the reduction of the debt? Whether some mode may not be devised to provide, within a short period, for its final and complete reimbursement, and thereby release the publick revenue from every incumbrance? This can only be effected by a modification of the debt assented to by the publick creditors; and a conversion of the old six per cent. deferred, and three per cent. stocks, on terms mutually beneficial, into a common six per cent. stock, redeemable within a limited time, appeared the most simple and eligible, if not the only practicable plan that can be adopted. For its details a reference is respectfully made to a letter written in January last, to the chairman of the committee of ways and means, copy of which marked (F.) is annexed. It will only be necessary to state, that if such a plan should be sanctioned by congress, and accepted

by the creditors, those several species of debt amounting on the 1st Jan. 1809, to something more than \$46,000,000, would be converted into a 6 per cent. stock, amounting to less than \$40,000,000, which the continued annual appropriation of \$8,000,000 would (besides paying the interest on the Louisiana debt) reimburse within a period of less than seven years, or before the end of the year 1815, as will appear by the table marked (H.)

The total annual expenditure for those seven years would then, allowing still 3,500,000 dollars for current expenses, and 400,000 dollars for contingencies, amount to something less than twelve millions of dollars; which deducted from a revenue of fourteen millions of dollars, would still leave after the year 1808, a clear surplus of more than two millions of dollars, applicable to such new objects of general improvement or national defence, as the legislature might direct, and existing circumstances require. And after the year 1815, no other incumbrance would remain on the revenue, than the interest and reimbursement of the Louisiana stock; the last payment of which in the year 1821, would complete the final extinguishment of the publick debt.

All which is respectfully submitted.

ALBERT GALLATIN,
Secretary of the Treasury.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Dec. 5, 1806.

LETTER FROM CAPT. CLARK,

ONE OF THE PARTY APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT TO EXPLORE THE MISSOURI, &c. TO HIS BROTHER.

DEAR BROTHER,

St. Louis, 23d Sept. 1806.

We arrived at this place at 12 o'clock to day from the Pacifick Ocean, where we remained during the last winter, near the entrance of the Columbia river. This station we left on the 27th of March last, and should have reached St. Louis early in August, had we not been detained by the snow which barred our passage across the Rocky Mountains, until the 24th of June. In returning through those mountains we divided ourselves into several parties, digressing from the route, by which we went out, in order the more effectually to explore the country, and discover the most practicable route which does exist across the continent by the way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers. In this we were completely successful, and have therefore no hesitation in declaring, that such as nature has permitted we have discovered the best route which does exist across the continent of North America in that direction. Such is that by way of the Missouri to the foot of the rapids below the great falls of that river, a distance of 2575 miles, thence by land passing by the Rocky Mountains, to a navigable part of the Kooskooske 340; and with the Kooskooske 73 miles, Lewis's river 154 miles, and the Columbia 413 miles to the Pacifick Ocean, making the total distance from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi, to the discharge of the Columbia into the Pacifick Ocean 3555 miles. The navigation of the Missouri may be deemed good—its difficulties arise from its falling banks, timber imbedded in the mud of its channel, its sand-bars and the steady rapidity of its current, all which may be overcome with a great degree of certainty, by using the necessary precautions. The passage by land of 340 miles from the falls of the Missouri to the Kooskooske, is the most formidable part of the tract proposed across the continent. Of this distance, 200 miles is along a good road, and 140 miles over tremendous mountains, which for 60 miles are covered with eternal snows. A passage over these mountains is, however, practicable from the latter part of June to the last of September; and the cheap rate at which horses are to be obtained from the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, and West of them, reduces the expenses of transportation over this portage to a mere trifle. The navigation of the Kooskooske, Lewis's river, and the Columbia, is safe and good from the first of April to the middle of August, by making three por-

tages on the latter river. The first of which, in descending is 1200 paces at the falls of Columbia 261 miles up that river, the second of two miles at the long narrows 6 miles below the falls, and a third, also of 2 miles at the great rapids 65 miles still lower down. The tide flows up the Columbia 183 miles, and within 7 miles of the great rapids. Large sloops may with safety ascend as high as tide water, and vessels of 300 tons burthen, reach the entrance of the Multhomah river, a large Southern branch of the Columbia, which takes its rise on the confines of New-Mexico, with the Calerado and Apostle's rivers, discharging itself into the Columbia 125 miles from its entrance into the Pacifick Ocean. I consider this track across the continent of immense advantage to the fur trade, as all the furs collected in nine-tenths of the most valuable fur country in America, may be conveyed to the mouth of the Columbia, and shipped from thence to the East-Indies by the first of August in each year; and will of course reach Canton earlier than the furs which are annually exported from Montreal arrive in G. Britain.

In our outward bound voyage, we ascended to the foot of the rapids below the great falls of the Missouri, where we arrived on the 14th of June, 1805. Not having met with any of the natives of the Rocky Mountains, we were of course ignorant of the passes by land, which existed, through those mountains to the Columbia river; and had we even known the route we were destitute of horses, which would have been indispensibly necessary to enable us to transport the requisite quantity of ammunition and other stores to ensure the remaining part of our voyage down the Columbia; we therefore determined to navigate the Missouri, as far as it was practicable, or unless we met with some of the natives from whom we could obtain horses and information of the country. Accordingly we undertook a most laborious portage at the falls of the Missouri, of 18 miles, which we effected with our canoes and baggage by the 3d of July. From hence ascending the Missouri, we penetrated the Rocky Mountains at the distance of 71 miles above the upper part of the portage, and penetrated as far as the three forks of that river, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles further. Here the Missouri divides into nearly equal branches at the same point. The two largest branches are so nearly of the same dignity, that we did not conceive that either of them could with propriety retain the name of the Missouri; and therefore called these streams Jefferson's, Madison's, and Gallatin's rivers. The confluence of those rivers is 2848 miles from the mouth of the Missouri, by the meanders of that river. We arrived at the three forks of the Missouri the 27th of July. Not having yet been so fortunate as to meet with the natives, although I had previously made several excursions for that purpose, we were compelled still to continue our route by water.

The most northerly of the three forks, that to which we had given the name of Jefferson's river, was deemed the most proper for our purpose and we accordingly ascended it 248 miles to the upper forks, and its extreme navigable point; making the total distance to which we had navigated the waters of the Missouri, 3096 miles, of which 429 lay within the Rocky mountains. On the morning of the 17th of August, 1805, I arrived at the forks of Jefferson's river, where I met captain Lewis, who had previously penetrated with a party of three men, to the waters of the Columbia, discovered a band of the Shoshone nation, and had found means to induce 35 of their chiefs and warriors to accompany him to that place. From these people we learned that the river on which they reside was not navigable, and that a passage through the mountains in that direction was impracticable; being unwilling to confide in this unfavourable account of the natives, it was concerted between Capt. Lewis and myself, that one of us should go forward immediately with a small party, and explore the river, while the other, in the interim would lay up the canoes at that place, and engage the natives with their horses to assist in transporting our stores and baggage to the camp. Accordingly I set out the next day, passed the dividing mountains between the waters of the Missouri and Columbia, and descended the river which I since called the East fork of Lewis's river, about 70 miles. Find-

ing that the Indians' account of the country in the direction of this river was correct, I returned and joined capt. Lewis on the 29th of August at the Shoshone camp, excessively fatigued as you may suppose ; having passed mountains almost inaccessible, and compelled to subsist on berries during the greater part of my route. We now purchased 27 horses of these Indians, and hired a guide, who assured us that he could in 15 days take us to a large river in an open country west of these mountains, by a route some distance to the north of the river on which they lived, and that by which the natives west of the mountains visit the plains of the Missouri, for the purpose of hunting the buffaloe. Every preparation being made, we sat forward with our guide on the 31st of August through these tremendous mountains, in which we continued until the 22d of September, before we reach the lower country beyond them : on our way we met with the Olclashoot a band of the Tuchapaks, from whom we obtained an accession of seven horses and exchanged eight or ten others ; this proved of infinite service to us, as we were compelled to subsist on horse beef about eight days before we reached the Kooskooske. During our passage over those mountains we suffered every thing which hunger, cold, and fatigue could impose.

Nor did our difficulties with respect to provisions cease on our arrival at the Kooskooske, for although the Pallotepallors, a numerous nation inhabiting that country, were extremely hospitable, and for a few trifling articles furnished us with abundance of roots and dried salmon, the food to which they were accustomed ; we found that we could not subsist on these articles, and almost all of us grew sick on eating them ; we were obliged therefore to have recourse to the flesh of horses and dogs as food to supply the deficiency of our guns, which produced but little meat, as game was scarce in the vicinity of our camp on the Kooskooske, where we were compelled to remain in order to construct our perogues to descend the river. At this season the salmon are meagre and form but indifferent food. While we remained here I was myself sick for several days, and my friend Capt. Lewis suffered a severe indisposition.

Having completed four perogues and a small canoe, we gave our horses in charge to the Pallotepallors until we returned, and on the 7th of Oct. embarked for the Pacifick Ocean. We descended by the route I have already mentioned. The water of the river being low at this season, we experienced much difficulty in descending, we found it obstructed by a great number of difficult and dangerous rapids, in passing of which our perogues several times filled, and the men escaped narrowly with their lives. However, this difficulty does not exist in high water, which happens within the period which I have previously mentioned. We found the natives extremely numerous and generally friendly, though we have on several occasions owed our lives and the fate of the expedition to our number, which consisted of 34 men. On the 17th of November we reached the ocean, where various considerations induced us to spend the winter ; we therefore searched for an eligible situation for that purpose, and selected a spot on the south side of a little river, called by the natives Netul, which discharges itself at a small bar on the south side of the Columbia, and 14 miles within point Adams. Here we constructed some log houses, and defended them with a common stockade work ; this place we called Fort Clatsop, after a nation of that name who were our nearest neighbours. In this country we found an abundance of elk, on which we subsisted principally during the last winter ; we left Fort Clatsop on the 27th of March. On our homeward bound voyage, being much better acquainted with the country we were enabled to take such precautions as in a great measure secured us from the want of provisions at any time, and greatly lessened our fatigues, when compared with those to which we were compelled to submit in our outward bound journey. We have not lost a man since we left the Mandians, a circumstance which I assure you is a pleasing consideration to me. As I shall shortly be with you, and the post is now waiting, I deem it unnecessary here to attempt minutely to detail the occurrences of the last eighteen months.

I am, &c. your affectionate brother,

WM. CLARK.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

*To the Senate and
House of Representatives, &c.*

AGREEABLY to the request of the House of Representatives, communicated in their resolution of the 16th inst. I proceed to state under the reserve therein expressed, information received touching an illegal combination of private individuals against the peace and safety of the union, and a military expedition planned by them against the territories of a power in amity with the United States, with the measures I have pursued for suppressing the same.

I had, for some time, been in the constant expectation of receiving such further information as would have enabled me to lay before the legislature the termination, as well as the beginning and progress of this scene of depravity, so far as it has been acted on the Ohio and its waters. From this the state of safety of the lower country might have been estimated on probable grounds, and the delay was indulged the rather, because no circumstance had yet made it necessary to call in the aid of the legislative functions. Information now recently communicated, has brought us nearly to the period contemplated. The mass of what I have received in the course of these transactions is voluminous : but little has been given under the sanction of an oath, so as to constitute formal and legal evidence. It is chiefly in the form of letters, often containing such a mixture of rumours, conjectures and suspicions, as render it difficult to sift out the real facts, and unadvisable to hazard more than general outlines, strengthened by concurrent information, or the particular credibility of the relator. In this state of the evidence, delivered sometimes too under the restriction of private confidence, neither safety nor justice will permit the exposing names, except that of the principal actor, whose guilt is placed beyond question.

Some time in the latter part of September, I received intimations that designs were in agitation in the Western country, unlawful and unfriendly to the peace of the union ; and that the prime mover in these was Aaron Burr, heretofore distinguished by the favour of his country. The grounds of these intimations being inconclusive, the objects uncertain, and the fidelity of that country known to be firm, the only measure taken was to urge the informants to use their best endeavors to get further insight into the designs and proceedings of the suspected persons, and to communicate them to me.

It was not till the latter part of October that the objects of the conspiracy began to be perceived, but still so blended and involved in mystery, that nothing distinct could be singled out for pursuit. In that state of uncertainty, as to the crime contemplated, the acts done, and the legal course to be pursued, I thought it best, to send to the scene, where these things were principally in transaction, a person in whose integrity, understanding and discretion, entire confidence could be reposed, with instructions to investigate the plots going on, to enter into conference (for which he had sufficient credentials) with the governors, and all other officers, civil and military, and with their aid, to do on the spot whatever should be necessary to discover the designs of the conspirators, arrest their means, bring their persons to punishment, and to call out the force of the country to suppress any unlawful enterprise, in which it should be found they were engaged. By this time it was known that many boats were under preparation, stores of provisions collecting, and an unusual number of suspicious characters in mo-

tion on the Ohio and its waters. Besides dispatching the confidential agent to that quarter, orders were at the same time sent to the governours of the Orleans and Mississippi territories, and to the commanders of the land and naval forces there, to be on their guard against surprise, and in constant readiness to resist any enterprize which might be attempted on the vessels, posts, or other objects under their care: and on the 8th of November, instructions were forwarded to Gen. Wilkinson to hasten an accommodation with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine, and, as soon as that was effected, to fall back with his principal force to the hither bank of the Mississippi, for the defence of the interesting points on that river. By a letter received from that officer, of the 25th of November, but dated October 21st, we learnt that a confidential agent of Aaron Burr had been deputed to him with communications, partly written in cypher, and partly oral, explaining his designs, exaggerating his resources, and making such offers of emolument and command, to engage him and the army in his unlawful enterprize, as he had flattered himself would be successful. The general, with the honour of a soldier, and fidelity of a good citizen, immediately dispatched a trusty officer to me with information of what had passed, proceeded to establish such an understanding with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine, as permitted him to withdraw his force across the Mississippi, and to enter on measures for opposing the projected enterprize.

The General's letter, which came to hand on the 25th of November, as has been mentioned, and some other information, received a few days earlier, when brought together, developed Burr's general designs, different parts of which only had been revealed to different informants. It appeared that he contemplated two distinct objects, which might be carried on either jointly or separately, and either the one or the other first as circumstances should direct. One of these was the severance of the union of these states by the Allegany mountains, the other an attack on Mexico. A third object was provided, merely ostensible, to wit, the settlement of the pretended purchase of a tract of country on the Washita, claimed by a baron Bastrop. This was to serve as the pretext for all his preparations, an allurements for such followers as really wished to acquire settlements in that country, and a cover under which to retreat in the event of a final discomfiture of both branches of his real design.

He found at once that the attachment of the western country to the present union was not to be shaken; that its dissolution could not be effected with the consent of the inhabitants; and that his resources were inadequate, as yet, to effect it by force. He took his course then at once, determined to seize on New-Orleans, plunder the bank there, possess himself of the military and naval stores, and proceed on his expedition to Mexico, and to this object all his means and preparations were now directed. He collected from all the quarters where himself, or his agents possessed influence, all the ardent, restless, desperate, and disaffected persons, who were ready for any enterprize analogous to their characters. He seduced good and well-meaning citizens, some by assurances that he possessed the confidence of the government, and was acting under its secret patronage; a pretence which procured some credit from the state of our differences with Spain; and others by offers of land in Bastrop's claim on the Washita.

This was the state of my information of his proceedings about the last of November; at which time therefore it was first possible to take specific measures to meet them. The proclamation of November 27, two days after the receipt of General Wilkinson's information, was now issued. Orders were dispatched to every interesting point on the Ohio and Mississippi, from Pittsburg to New-Orleans, for the employment of such force, either of the regulars or of the militia, and of such proceedings also of the civil authorities, as might enable them to seize on all boats and stores provided for the

enterprize, to arrest the persons concerned, and to suppress effectually the further progress of the enterprize. A little before the receipt of these orders in the state of Ohio, our confidential agent, who had been diligently employed in investigating the conspiracy, had acquired sufficient information to open himself to the governour of that state, and to apply for the immediate exertion of the authority and power of the state to crush the combination. Governour Tiffin and the legislature, with a promptitude, an energy, and patriotick zeal, which entitle them to a distinguished place in the affection of their sister states, effected the seizure of all the boats, provisions, and other preparations within their reach, and thus gave a first blow, materially disabling the enterprize in its outset.

In Kentucky a premature attempt to bring Burr to justice, without sufficient evidence for his conviction, had produced a popular impression in his favour, and a general disbelief of his guilt. This gave him an unfortunate opportunity of hastening his equipments. The arrival of the proclamation and orders, and the application and information of our confidential agent, at length awakened the authorities of that state to the truth, and then produced the same promptitude and energy of which the neighbouring state had set the example. Under an act of their legislature of December 23, militia was instantly ordered to different important points, and measures taken for doing whatever could yet be done. Some boats (accounts vary from five to double or treble that number) and persons (differently estimated from one to three hundred) had in the mean time passed the falls of Ohio, to rendezvous at the mouth of Cumberland with others expected down that river. Not apprised till very late that any boats were building on Cumberland, the effect of the proclamation has been trusted to for some time in the state of Tennessee. But on the 19th of December similar communications and instructions, with those to the neighbouring states, were dispatched by express to the governour, and a general officer of the western division of the state, and on the 23d of December our confidential agent left Frankfort for Nashville to put into activity the means of that state also. But by information received yesterday, I learn that on the 22d of December Mr. Burr descended the Cumberland with two boats, merely of accommodation, carrying with him from that state no quota towards his unlawful enterprize. Whether after the arrival of the proclamation, of the orders, or of our agent, any exertion which could be made by that state, or the orders of the governour of Kentucky, for calling out the militia at the mouth of Cumberland, would be in time to arrest these boats, and those from the falls of Ohio is still doubtful.

On the whole, the fugitives from the Ohio, with their associates from Cumberland, or any other place in that quarter, cannot threaten serious danger to the city of New-Orleans.

By the same express of December 19, orders were sent to the governours of Orleans and Mississippi, supplementary to those which had been given on the 25th of November, to hold the militia of their territories in readiness to co-operate for their defence with the regular troops and armed vessels then under command of Gen. Wilkinson. Great alarm indeed was excited at New-Orleans by the exaggerated accounts of Mr. Burr, disseminated through his emissaries, of the armies and navies he was to assemble there. Gen. Wilkinson had arrived there himself on the 24th of November, and had immediately put into activity the resources of the place for the purpose of its defence, and on the 10th of December he was joined by his troops from the Sabine. Great zeal was shewn by the inhabitants generally; the merchants of the place readily agreeing to the most laudable exertions and sacrifices for manning the armed vessels with their seamen; and the other citizens manifesting unequivocal fidelity to the union, and a spirit of determined resistance to their expected assailants.

Surmises have been hazarded that this enterprise is to receive aid from certain foreign powers. But these surmises are without proof or probability. The wisdom of the measures sanctioned by congress at its last session, has placed us in the paths of peace and justice with the only powers with whom we had any differences; and nothing has happened since, which makes it either their interest or ours to pursue another course. No change of measures has taken place on our part, none ought to take place at this time. With the one, friendly arrangement was proposed, and the law, deemed necessary on the failure of that, was suspended to give time for a fair trial of the issue. With the same power, friendly arrangement is now proceeding, under good expectations, and the same law, deemed necessary on failure of that, is still suspended to give time for a fair trial of the issue. With the other negotiation was in like manner preferred, and provisional measures only taken to meet the event of rupture. While therefore we do not deflect in the slightest degree from the course we then assumed, and are still pursuing, with mutual consent, to restore a good understanding, we are not to impute to them practices as irreconcilable to interest as to good faith, and changing necessarily the relations of peace and justice between us to those of war. These surmises are therefore to be imputed to the vauntings of the author of this enterprize, to multiply his partizans, by magnifying the belief of his prospects and support.

By letters from General Wilkinson, of the 14th and 18th of December, which came to hand two days after the date of the resolution of the House of Representatives, that is to say, on the morning of the 18th inst. I received the important affidavit, a copy of which I now communicate, with extracts of so much of the letters as come within the scope of the resolution. By these it will be seen that of three of the principal emissaries of Mr. Burr, whom the General had caused to be apprehended, one had been liberated by *Habeas Corpus*, and two others, being those particularly employed in the endeavour to corrupt the General and army of the United States, have been embarked by him for ports in the Atlantick states, probably on the consideration that an impartial trial could not be expected during the present agitations of New-Orleans, and that that city was not as yet a safe place of confinement. As soon as these persons shall arrive, they will be delivered to the custody of the law, and left to such course of trial, both as to place and process, as its functionaries may direct. The presence of the highest judicial authorities, to be assembled at this place within a few days, the means of pursuing a sounder course of proceedings here than elsewhere, and the aid of the executive means, should the judges have occasion to use them, render it equally desirable for the criminal, as for the publick, that, being already removed from the place where they were apprehended, the first regular arrest should take place here, and the course of proceedings receive here their proper direction.

Jan. 22, 1807.

TH: JEFFERSON.

*Extract of a letter from Gen. James Wilkinson, dated New-Orleans,
Dec. 14, 1806.*

“After several consultations with the governour and judges, touching the arrest and confinement of certain known agents and emissaries of Col. Burr, in this city and territory, whose intrigues and machinations were to be apprehended, it is with their privity and approbation, that I have caused three of them to be arrested, viz. Doctor Erick Bollman, Samuel Swartwout, and Peter V. Ogden, against whom I possess strong facts, and I have recommended to the governour to have James Alexander, Esq. taken up on the grounds of strong suspicion. These persons and all others, who, by their

character and deportment may be considered hostile to the interests of the United States, or dangerous to this feeble frontier, under the menacing aspect of things from above, will, if my influence can prevail, be seized on and sent by sea to the United States, subject to the disposition of government, and accompanied by such information as may justify their confinement, and furnish a clue to the developement of the grounds, progress, and projectors of the treasonable enterprize in which they are engaged.

"This letter will accompany Doctor Bollman, who is to be this day embarked in a vessel bound for Charleston, under the charge of Lt. Wilson of the artillery, who has orders to land with his prisoner at Fort Johnson or Fort Moultrie, to forward this dispatch by mail, and to wait the orders of the executive. Mr. Swartwout will be sent to Baltimore by a vessel which will sail some time the ensuing week, in custody of another subaltern, who will be the bearer of strong testimony against him and also Col. Burr, and the others will follow under due precautions, by the earliest opportunities which may present.

"I deem it essential to keep these prisoners apart, to prevent the adjustment of correspondent answers or confessions to any examination which may ensue, and I hope the measures of the executive may be so prompt and efficient, as to relieve the officers in charge of them from their trust, before the interposition of the friends of the prisoners may effect their liberation.

"By this procedure we may intimidate the confederates, who are unquestionably numerous in this as well as the adjacent territory, disconcert their arrangements, and possibly destroy their intrigues; and I hope the zeal which directs the measure may be justified and approved; for whilst the glow of patriotism actuates my conduct, and I am willing to offer myself a martyr to the constitution of my country, I should indeed be most grievously disappointed did I incur its censure.

"Here, sir, we find the key to the western states, and here we must form one grand depositary and place of arms—combine to this disposition a river fleet competent to its occlusion, and post it thirty or forty leagues above the Yazou river, and we may repose in security; for the discontent and sufferings of our insurgent citizens, which must immediately ensue, will soon open their eyes to the wickedness of their leaders, and work a radical reformation without bloodshed. This is my plan for resisting an internal attack; for external defence, gun-boats, and bomb-ketches, with floating batteries at the mouths of the Mississippi and the passes from Lake Ponchartrain will be necessary."

Extract of a letter from Gen. James Wilkinson, dated New-Orleans, December 18, 1806.

SIR—Since my last of the 14th inst. writs of *habeas corpus* have been issued for the bodies of Bollman, Swartwout, and Ogden, the two latter by Judge Workman, who is strongly suspected for being concerned with Burr in his conspiracy, as I have proof this man declared some time since, that "the republican, who possessed power, and did not employ it to establish a despotism, was a fool." His writ for Ogden was served on Capt. Shaw of the navy, who had him in charge at my request, on board the Etna bomb ketch, and delivered him up, and Mr. Workman discharged him without giving me a word of information, although he knew he was confined by my order for a treasonable combination with Burr, and Mr. Ogden now struts at large. Swartwout I have sent off, and shall so report, holding myself ready for consequences. Bollman was required by the superiour court, but I have got rid of that affair also, under the usual liability for damages, in which case I shall look to our country for protection."

SECOND MESSAGE.

*To the Senate and
House of Representatives of the United States.*

I RECEIVED from General Wilkinson, on the twenty third instant his affidavit, charging Samuel Swartwout, Peter V. Ogden and James Alexander, with the crimes described in the affidavit, a copy of which is now communicated to both Houses of Congress.

It was announced to me at the same time, that Swartwout and Bollman, two of the persons apprehended by him, were arrived in this city, in custody each of a military officer. I immediately delivered to the attorney of the United States, in this district, the evidence received against them, with instructions to lay the same before the judges, and apply for their process to bring the accused to justice, and I put into his hands orders to the officers having them in custody, to deliver them to the marshal on his application.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 26, 1807.

I, James Wilkinson, brigadier-general and commander in chief of the army of the United States, to warrant the arrest of Dr. Erick Bollman on a charge of treason, misprision of treason, or such other offence against the government and laws of the U. States, as the following facts may legally charge him with—on my honour as a soldier, and on the holy evangelists of Almighty God, do declare and swear, that on the 6th day of November last, when in command at Natchitoches, I received by the hands of a Frenchman, a stranger to me, a letter from Dr. Erick Bollman, of which the following is a correct copy.

“ New-Orleans, September 27, 1806.

“ SIR—I have the honour to forward to your excellency the *enclosed letters*, which I was charged to deliver to you by our mutual friend. I shall remain for some time at this place, and should be glad to learn where and when I may have the pleasure of an interview with you. Have the goodness to inform me of it, and please to direct your letter to me, care of ———, or enclose it under cover to them. I have the honour with great respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed)

ERICK BOLLMAN.”

“ General Wilkinson.

Covering a communication in cypher from Col. Aaron Burr, of which the following is substantially as fair an interpretation as I have heretofore been able to make, the original of which I still hold in my possession:—I (Aaron Burr) have obtained funds and have actually commenced the enterprize—detachments from different points and under different pretences will rendezvous on the Ohio 1st November—every thing internal and external favours views—Protection of England is secured— T—— is gone to Jamaica to arrange*

** Truxton.*

with the admiral on that station, and will meet at the Mississippi—England—Navy of the United States are ready to join and final orders are given to my friends and followers—it will be an host of choice spirits—Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only—Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers—Burr will proceed Westward 1st August—never to return—with him go his daughter—the husband will follow in October with a *corps of worthies*—send forth—with an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may confer.—He shall return immediately with further interesting details—this is essential to concert and harmony of movement. Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson west of the mountains, who could be useful, with a note delineating the characters. By your messenger send me four or five of the commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretence you please—They shall be returned faithfully—Already are orders to the contractor given to forward six months provisions to points Wilkinson may name—this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions—the project is brought to the point so long desired—Burr guarantees the result with his life and honour—the lives, the honour and fortunes of hundreds, the best blood of our country—Burr's plan of operations is to move down rapidly from the falls on the 15th of November with the first 500 or 1000 men in light boats now constructing for that purpose—to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December—then to meet Wilkinson—then to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance to seize on or pass by Baton Rouge—on receipt of this send Burr an answer—draw on Burr for all expenses, &c. The people of the country to which we are going are prepared to receive us—their agents now with Burr say that if he will protect their religion and will not subject them to a foreign power, that in three weeks all will be settled. The Gods invite to glory and fortune—it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon.—The bearer of this goes express to you—he will hand a formed letter of introduction to you from Burr, a copy of which is hereunto subjoined—he is a man of inviolable honour and perfect discretion—formed to execute rather than project—capable of relating facts with fidelity and incapable of relating them otherwise. He is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions of ———, and will disclose to you as far as you enquire and no farther—he has imbibed a reverence for your character and may be embarrassed in your presence—put him at ease and he will satisfy you.—Doctor Bollman equally confidential, better informed on the subject and more intelligent will hand you this duplicate—” 29th July.”

The day after my arrival at this city, the 26th of November last, I received another letter from the Doctor, of which the following is a correct copy.

New-Orleans, 25th Nov. 1806.

“SIR—Your letter of the 5th inst. has been duly received. Supposing that you will be much engaged this morning I defer waiting on your excellency till you will be pleased to inform me of the time when it will be convenient to you to see me. I remain with great respect,

“Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
(Signed)

ERICK BOLLMAN.”

His Excellency Gen. Wilkinson, Fauxbourg.

Marigny, the house between Madame Trevinge and M. Macarty.

On the 30th of the same month I waited in person on Dr. E. Bollman, when he informed me that he had not heard from Col. Burr since his arrival here—that he (said Dr. E. Bollman) had sent dispatches to Col. Burr by a Lieutenant Spence of the navy, and that he had been advised of Spence's arrival at Nashville, in the state of Tennessee—And observed that Col. Burr

had proceeded too far to retreat: that he (Col. Burr) had numerous and powerful friends in the United States, who stood pledged to support him with their fortunes, and that he must succeed. That he, the said Dr. E. Bollman, had written to Col. Burr on the subject of provisions, and that he expected a supply would be sent from New-York, and also from Norfolk, where Col. Burr had strong connexions. I did not see or hear from the Doctor again until the 5th inst. when I called on him the second time. The mail being arrived the day before, I asked him whether he had received any intelligence from Col. Burr. He informed me that he had seen a letter from Col. Burr of the 30th of October, in which he (Col. Burr) gave assurances that he should be at Natches with 2000 men on the 20th of December inst. where he should wait until he heard from this place. That he would be followed by 4000 more, and that he (Col. Burr) if he had chosen, could have raised or got 12,000 as easy as 6,000, but that he did not think that number necessary.—Confiding fully in this information I became indifferent about further disguise. I then told the Doctor that I should most certainly oppose Col. Burr if he came this way. He replied, they must come here for equipments and shipping, and observed that he did not know what had passed between Col. Burr and myself, obliqued at a sham defence, and waved the subject.

From the documents in my possession, and the several communications, verbal as well as written, from the said Doctor Erick Bollman on this subject, I feel no hesitation in declaring under the solemn obligation of an oath, that he has committed misprision of treason against the government of the United States.

(Signed)

JAS. WILKINSON.

Signed and sworn to this 14th day of December, 1806, before me, one of the justices of the peace of this county.

(Signed)

J. CARRICK.

Philadelphia, 25 July, 1806.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Swartwout, the brother of Col. S. of New-York, being on his way down the Mississippi, and presuming he may pass you at some post on the river, has requested of me a letter of introduction, which I give with pleasure, as he is a most amiable young man, and highly respectable from his character and connexions. I pray you to afford him friendly offices, which his situation may require, and beg you to pardon the trouble which this may give you. With entire respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

A. BURR.

His Excellency Gen. Wilkinson.

I instantly resolved to avail myself of the reference made to the bearer, and in the course of some days drew from him (the said Swartwout) the following disclosure.—“That he had been dispatched by Col. Burr from Philadelphia, had passed through the states of Ohio and Kentucky, and proceeded from Louisville for St. Louis, where he expected to find me, but discovering at Kaskaskias that I had descended the river, he procured a skiff, hired hands and followed me down the Mississippi to Fort Adams, and from thence set out for Natchitoches, in company with captains Sparks and Hooke, under the pretence of a disposition to take part in the campaign against the Spaniards, then depending. That Col. Burr, with the support of a powerful association, extending from New-York to New-Orleans, was levying an armed body of 7000 men from the state of New-York and the western states and territories, with a view to cary an expedition against the Mexican provinces, and that

500 men under Col. Swartwout, and a Col. or Major Tyler, were to descend the Alleghany, for whose accommodation light boats had been built and were ready." I enquired what would be their course; he said, "this territory would be revolutionized, where the people were ready to join them, and that there would be some seizing, he supposed, at New-Orleans; that they expected to be ready to embark about the first of February, and intended to land at Vera Cruz, and to march from thence to Mexico." I observed that there were several millions of dollars in the bank of that place; to which he replied, "We know it full well;" and on my remarking that they certainly did not mean to violate property, he said they "merely meant to borrow, and would return it; that they must equip themselves in New-Orleans; that they expected naval protection from Great Britain; that the capt. — and the officers of our navy were so disgusted with the government that they were ready to join; that similar disgusts prevailed throughout the western country, where the people were zealous in favour of the enterprize, and that pilot boat built schooners were contracted for along our southern coast for their service; that he had been accompanied from the falls of Ohio to Kaskaskias, and from thence to Fort Adams, by a Mr. Ogden, who had proceeded on to New-Orleans with letters from Col. Burr to his friend there." Swartwout asked me whether I had heard from Dr. Bollman; and on my answering in the negative, he expressed great surprize, and observed, "That the doctor and a Mr. Alexander had left Philadelphia before him, with dispatches for me, and that they were to proceed by sea to New-Orleans, where he said they must have arrived."

Though determined to deceive him if possible, I could not refrain telling Mr. Swartwout it was impossible that I could dishonour my commission; and I believe I duped him by my admiration of the plan, and by observing, "That although I could not join in the expedition, the engagements which the Spaniards had prepared for me in my front, might prevent my opposing it." Yet I did the moment I had decyphered the letter, put it into the hands of Col. Cushing, my adjutant and inspector, making the declaration that I should oppose the lawless enterprize with my utmost force. Mr. Swartwout informed me he was under engagements to meet Col. Burr at Nashville the 20th of November, and requested me to write him, which I declined; and on his leaving Natchitoches about the 18th of October, I immediately employed Lieut. T. A. Smith to convey the information in substance to the President, without the commitment of names; for from the extraordinary nature of the project, and the more extraordinary appeal to me, I could but doubt its reality, notwithstanding the testimony before me, and I did not attach solid belief to Mr. Swartwout's reports respecting their intentions on this territory and city, until I received confirmatory advice from St. Louis.

After my return from the Sabine, I crossed the country to Natchez, and on my descent of the Mississippi from that place I found Swartwout and Peter V. Ogden at Fort Adams; with the latter I held no communication, but was informed by Swartwout, that he, Ogden, had returned so far from New-Orleans, on his rout to Tennessee, but had been so much alarmed by certain re-

ports in circulation that he was afraid to proceed. I enquired whether he bore letters with him from New-Orleans, and was informed by Swartwout that he did not, but that a Mr. Spence had been sent from New-Orleans through the country to Nashville, with letters for Col. Burr.

I reached this city the 25th ultimo, and on the next morning James Alexander, Esq. visited me ; he enquired of me aside whether I had seen doctor Bollman, and on my answering in the negative, he asked me whether I would suffer him to conduct Bollman to me, which I refused. He appeared desirous of communicating something, but I felt no inclination to inculcate this young man, and he left me. A few days after he paid me a second visit, and seemed desirous to communicate, which I avoided, until he had risen to take leave ; I then raised my finger, and observed, "Take care, you are playing a dangerous game ;" he answered, "It will succeed." I again observed, "Take care ;" and he replied with a strong affirmation, "Burr will be here by the beginning of next month." In addition to these corroborating circumstances against Alexander, I beg leave to refer to the accompanying documents, A. B. From all which I feel no hesitation in declaring, under a solemn obligation of an oath, that I do believe the said Swartwout, Alexander, and Ogden, have been parties to, and have been concerned in the insurrection formed or forming in the states and territories on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, against the laws and constitution of the United States.

(Signed)

JAMES WILKINSON.

Sworn to, and subscribed before me, this 26th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1806.

(Signed)

GEORGE POLLOCK,

Justice of the peace, for the county of Orleans.

DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM EATON, Esq.

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Early last winter, Col. Aaron Burr, late vice-president of the United States, signified to me, at this place, that under the authority of the general government, he was organising a secret expedition against the Spanish provinces on our south-western borders ; which expedition he was to lead, and in which he was authorised to invite me to take the command of a division.—I had never before been made personally acquainted with Col. Burr ; and, having many years been employed in foreign service, I knew but little about the estimation this gentleman now held in the opinion of his countrymen and his government ; the rank and confidence by which he had so lately been distinguished, left me no right to suspect his patriotism. I knew him a soldier. In case of a war with the Spanish nation, which from the tenor of the president's message to both Houses of Congress seemed probable, I should have thought it my duty to obey so honourable a call of my country : and under that impression, I did engage to embark in the expedition. I had frequent interviews with Col. Burr in this city—and, for a considerable time, his object seemed to be to instruct me by maps, and other information, the feasibility of penetrating to Mexico—always carrying forward the idea that the measure was authorised by govern-

ment. At length, some time in February, he began by degrees to unveil himself.—He reproached the government with want of character, want of gratitude, and want of justice. He seemed desirous of irritating resentment in my breast by dilating on certain injuries he felt I had suffered from reflections made on the floor of the House of Representatives, concerning my operations in Barbary, and from the delays of government in adjusting my claims for disbursements on that coast during my consular agency at Tunis; and he would point to me to an honourable mode of indemnity. I now began to entertain a suspicion that Mr. Burr was projecting an unauthorised military expedition; which to me, was enveloped in mystery; and, desirous to draw an explanation from him, I suffered him to suppose me resigned to his council. He now laid open his project of revolutionising the western country, separating it from the union, establishing a monarchy there, of which he was to be the sovereign, New-Orleans to be his capital; organising a force on the waters of the Mississippi, and extending conquest to Mexico. I suggested a number of impediments to his scheme—such as the republican habits of the citizens of that country, and their affection towards our present administration of government; the want of funds; the resistance he would meet from the regular army of the U. States on those frontiers; and the opposition of Miranda in case he should succeed to republicanise the Mexicans.

Mr. Burr found no difficulty in removing those obstacles—he said he had, the preceding season, made a tour through that country, and had secured the attachment of the principal citizens of Kentucky, Tennessee and Louisiana, to his person and his measures—declared he had inexhaustible resources to funds; assured me the regular army would act with him, and would be reinforced by ten or twelve thousand men from the above-mentioned states and territory, and from other parts of the union; said he had powerful agents in the Spanish territory—and, as for Miranda, said Mr. Burr, we must hang Miranda. He now proposed to give me the second command in his army. I asked him who should have the chief command? He said *General Wilkinson*. I observed it was singular that he should count on General Wilkinson; the elevated rank and high trust he now held as commander in chief of our army, and governor of a province, he would hardly put at hazard for any precarious prospect of aggrandizement. Mr. Burr said, General Wilkinson, balanced in the confidence of government, was doubtful of retaining much longer the consideration he now enjoyed, and was consequently prepared to secure himself a permanency.

I asked Mr. Burr if he knew General Wilkinson? He answered yes: and echoed the question. I said I knew him well. “What do you know of him?” said Mr. Burr.—I know I replied, that general Wilkinson will act as *Lieutenant* to no man in existence. “You are in an error,” said Mr. Burr—“*Wilkinson will act as Lieutenant to me.*” From the tenor of repeated conversations with Mr. Burr, I was induced to believe the plan of separating the union which he had contemplated had been communicated to and approved of by general Wilkinson (though I now suspect it an artful argument of seduction) and he often expressed a full confidence that the general’s influence; the offer of double pay and double rations; the prospect of plunder and the ambition of achievement would draw the army into his measures. Mr. Burr talked of the establishment of an independent government west of the Alleghany as a matter of inherent constitutional right of the people: a change which would eventually take place, and for the operation of which the present crisis was peculiarly favourable. There was, said he, no energy in the government to be dreaded, and the divisions of political opinions throughout the union was a circumstance of which we should profit. There were very many enterprising men among us who as-

pired to something beyond the dull pursuits of civil life and who would volunteer in this enterprize, and the vast territory belonging to the United States, which offered to adventurers, and the mines of Mexico would bring strength to his standard from all quarters—I listened to the exposition of col. Burr's views with seeming acquiescence. Every interview convinced me more and more that he had organized a deep-laid plot of treason in the west, in the accomplishment of which he felt fully confident. Till at length I discovered that his ambition was not bounded by the waters of the Mississippi and Mexico, but that he meditated overthrowing the present government of our country. He said, if he could gain over the marine corps, and secure the naval commanders, Truxton, Preble, Decatur, and others, *he would turn congress neck and heels out of doors; assassinate the President; seize on the treasury and navy, and declare himself the protector of an energetick government.*

The honourable trust of corrupting the marine corps, and of sounding commodore Preble and capt. Decatur, col. Burr proposed confiding to me. Shocked at this proposition, I dropped the mask, and exclaimed against his views. He talked of the degraded situation of our country, and the necessity of a *blow* by which its energy and its dignity should be restored—said, if that blow could be struck here at this time, he was confident of the best blood of America. I told col. Burr he deceived himself in presuming that he, or any other man could excite a party in this country who would countenance him in such a plot of desperation, murder, and treason. He replied, that he, perhaps, knew better the dispositions of the influential citizens of this country than I did. I told him one solitary word would destroy him. He asked, what word? I answered, *Usurper!* He smiled at my hesitation, and quoted some great examples in his favour. I observed to him, that I had lately travelled from one extreme of the union to the other; and though I found a diversity of political opinion among the people they appeared united at the most distant aspect of national danger. That, for the section of the union to which I belonged, I would vouch, should he succeed in the first instance here, he would within six weeks afterward have his throat cut by Yankee militia.

Though wild and extravagant Mr. Burr's last project, and though fraught with premeditated slaughter, I felt very easy on the subject, because its defeat he had deposited in my own hands. I did not feel so secure concerning that of disjoining the union. But the very interesting and embarrassing situation in which his communications placed me, left me, I confess, at a stand to know how to conduct myself with propriety. He had committed no overt act of aggression against law.—I could draw nothing from him in writing; nor could I learn that he had exposed his plans to any person near me by whom my testimony could be supported. He had mentioned to me no persons who were principally and decidedly engaged with him, except general Wilkinson—a Mr. Alston, who I found was his son-in-law—and a Mr. Ephraim Kibby, late a captain of rangers in Gen. Wayne's army.

Satisfied that Mr. Burr was resolute in pushing his project of rebellion in the west of the Alleghany, and apprehensive that it was too well and too extensively organized to be easily suppressed—though I dreaded the weight of his character when laid in the balance against my solitary assertion, I brought myself to the resolution to endeavour to defeat it by getting him removed from among us, or to expose myself to all consequences by a disclosure of his intentions.

Accordingly, I waited on the President of the United States, and after some desultory conversation, in which I aimed to draw his view to the westward, I used the freedom to say to the President I thought Mr. Burr should

be sent out of the country—and gave for reason, that I believed him dangerous in it. The President asked where he should be sent? I mentioned London and Cadiz. The President thought the trust too important, and seemed to entertain a doubt of Mr. Burr's integrity. I intimated that no one, perhaps, had stronger grounds to mistrust Mr. Burr's moral integrity than myself; yet, I believed, ambition so much predominated over him that, when placed on an eminence and put on his honour, respect to himself would ensure his fidelity:—His talents were unquestionable. I perceived the subject was disagreeable to the President; and to give it the shortest course to the point, declared my concern that if Mr. Burr were not in some way disposed of, we should, within eighteen months, have an insurrection, if not a revolution, on the waters of the Mississippi. The President answered, that he had too much confidence in the information, the integrity, and the attachment to the union of the citizens of that country to admit an apprehension of the kind: I am happy that events prove this confidence well placed. As no interrogatories followed my expression of alarm, I thought silence on the subject, at that time and place, became me.

But I detailed about the same time, the whole project of Mr. Burr to certain members of Congress. They believed Col. Burr capable of any thing—and agreed that the fellow ought to be hanged; but thought his projects too chimerical and his circumstances too desperate to give the subject the merit of serious consideration. The total security of feeling in those to whom I had rung the tocsin induced me to suspect my own apprehensions unseasonable, or at least too deeply admitted: and of course, I grew indifferent about the subject.

Mr. Burr's visits to me became less frequent, and his conversation less familiar. He appeared to have abandoned the idea of a general revolution; but seemed determined on that of the Mississippi—and, although I could perceive symptoms of distrust in him towards me, he manifested great solicitude to engage me with him in the enterprize. Weary of his importunity, and at once to convince him of my serious attachments, I gave the following toast to the publick:—

"The UNITED STATES—Palsey to the brain that should plot to dismember, and leprosy to the hand that will not draw to defend our union!"

I doubt whether the sentiment was better understood by any of my acquaintance than by Colonel Burr. Our intercourse ended here—we met but seldom afterward. I returned to my farm in Massachusetts, and thought no more of Mr. Burr nor his empire, till sometime late in September or beginning of October, when a letter from Morris Belknap, of Marietta, to Timothy E. Danielson, fell into my hands at Brimfield, which satisfied me that Mr. Burr had actually commenced his preparatory operations on the Ohio. I now spoke publicly of the fact, transmitted a copy of the letter from Belknap to the department of state, and about the same time forwarded through the hands of the post-master-general to the President of the U. States, a statement in substance, of what is here above detailed concerning the Mississippi conspiracy of Col. A. Burr—which is said to have been the first formal intelligence received by the executive on the subject of the conspirator being in motion.

I know not whether my country will allow me the merit of correctness of conduct in this affair. The novelty of the duty might, perhaps, have embarrassed stronger minds than mine. The uprightness of my intentions, I hope, will not be questioned.

The interviews between col. Burr and myself, from which the foregoing statement has resulted, were chiefly in this city, in the months of February and March, last year.

Washington City, Jan. 26.

WILLIAM EATON.

Sworn to in open court this 26th of Jan. 1807.

WM. BRENT, Clerk.

DEPOSITION of JAMES L. DONALDSON.

In open court personally appears James Lowry Donaldson, who being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that he was in the city of New-Orleans, in the Orleans territory, and the environs of said city, from the 15th of October to the 10th day of December, 1806—that during the latter part of this time he was frequently in the company of General James Wilkinson, and visited the General the day after his arrival at New-Orleans. On this occasion this deponent received in confidence from General Wilkinson information to the following purport—That the General had undoubted and indisputable evidence of a treasonable design formed by Aaron Burr and others to dismember the union by a separation of the western states and territories from the Atlantic states—that New-Orleans was in immediate danger, and that he had concluded a hasty compromise with the Spaniards, so as to be able to withdraw his troops instantly to this the immediate object of attack and great vulnerable point—That he had received a letter from Burr holding forth great inducements to him to become a party, of which he shewed me the original in cypher, and another written paper purporting to be a decyphered copy of the letter. He expressed great indignation at the plot, and surprize that one so well acquainted with him as Burr should dare to make to him so degrading a proposal, and declared his determination of defeating the enterprize, or perishing in the attempt. He observed in addition that there were many agents of Mr. Burr then in the town, who had already been assiduous in their visits, and towards whom he was determined to act with cautious ambiguity, so as at the same time to become possessed of the whole extent of the plan, the persons engaged, and the time of its execution, and also to prevent any attempt on his person, of which he declared he had serious apprehensions. Of the number of these agents he was not aware, but mentioned the names of two, of whom he was certain, Messrs. Bollman and Alexander. From time to time, as this deponent had interviews with General Wilkinson, he informed this deponent that he had received additional information respecting the movements and designs of Burr by means of these agents, of whom he considered Bollman as the principal. In the course of these transactions, this deponent was employed by General Wilkinson in the copying of certain papers and documents, and preparing certain dispatches for the general government, which the General intended to forward by the brig *Thetis*. While thus employed at the General's lodgings, this deponent has remarked, upon two different occasions, a person knock for admittance at a door with a window in it, opposite the table where this deponent was sitting, who, this deponent was informed by General Wilkinson, was Dr. Bollman. Upon these occasions the General had suddenly risen from his seat, and accompanied this person in a number of turns up and down a balcony in the front of the house, apparently engaged in deep conversation. Upon the latter of these occasions the General on his return into the chamber said to this deponent, "that is Dr. Bollman, his infatuation is truly extraordinary, he persists in his belief that I am with Burr, and has this moment shewn me a letter from the latter, in which he says that he is to be at Natchez on the 20th December with two thousand men, that 4000 will follow in the course of a few days, and that he could with the same ease, have procured double that number." General Wilkinson then observed that he had obtained all the information he wanted, and that the affair would not be kept much longer a secret from the publick.

When this deponent left the city of New-Orleans, the inhabitants of that city were in a state of great alarm, and apprehended a serious attack from Mr. Burr and his confederates: this deponent understood that mercantile business was much embarrassed and great fears were entertained of considerable commercial failures in consequence of the embargo which had been imposed—that General Wilkinson was taking strong measures of defence and that four hundred persons were then actually engaged in the fortifications of the city.

And further this deponent saith not.

JAMES L. DONALDSON.

Sworn to in open court

January 26, 1807.

WM. BRENT, Clerk.

DEPOSITION OF LT. W. WILSON.

I left New-Orleans on my way to this city on the 15th of December last; at that time, and for some time preceding, the strongest apprehensions and belief universally prevailed among the inhabitants of that city, that Aaron Burr and his confederates had prepared an armed force, and were advancing to attack and plunder the city; in consequence of which the greatest alarms prevailed, a general stagnation of business, and the danger was credited there as a matter of publick notoriety:—That brigadier general Wilkinson, with the army of the U. S. was at New-Orleans, occupied in the most active military preparations for the defence of the place; repairing the forts, mounting cannon, collecting ammunition, &c. all under the firm persuasion and belief that such an attack was meditated, and about very speedily to take place by the said Burr and his confederates; this deponent knows that the general was decidedly of opinion, from the most satisfactory information, that the said Burr and his confederates were advancing with an armed force against the place—and further this deponent saith not.

Signed,

WM. WILSON.

Sworn to in open court this

27th day of Jan. 1807.

WM. BRENT, Clerk.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States.*

I communicate, for the information of Congress, a letter from Cowles Meade, secretary of the Mississippi territory, to the secretary of war, by which it will be seen that Mr. Burr had reached that neighbourhood on the 13th of January.

TH: JEFFERSON.

February 10, 1807.

*Extract of a letter from Cowles Meade, secretary and acting governour of the
Mississippi territory, to the department of war, dated*

SIR,

WASHINGTON, M. T. January 13, 1807.

I have just time by the mail to inform you that I received this morning a letter from col. Burr, at Bayou Pierre, avowing the innocence of his views and the fallacy of certain rumours against his patriotism. His object is agriculture, and his boats are the vehicles of emigration. However, se-

veral military corps were ordered to be on the alert, and apprehend him and all suspicious persons on the day before the reception of this letter : these orders may possibly bring him into my possession. In his letter he hints at resistance to any attempt to coerce him, and deprecates a civil war. These hints will have no influence on my conduct. He will be apprehended, if possible, at the hazard of the lives of our militia, and the honour of the executive. We are all bustle and activity. I hope in a day or two to give you a better account of this troublesome man.

A boat passed Natchez last night ; was hailed and pursued by the guard ; they fired two guns at the pursuers, and made their escape, being better manned.

The citizens of this country are republicans and patriots, and on their exertions I have every reliance.

Extract of a letter from Cowles Meade, secretary and acting governour of the Mississippi territory, to the department of war, dated

SIR,

WASHINGTON, M. T. Jan. 19, 1807.

“ In obedience to your instructions by express of 20th of December last, I immediately, after proroguing the legislature, proceeded to put the territory in a state of preparation for the arrestation of the suspicious persons and boats, which were contemplated therein ; my militia were collecting at particular points on the river, when I received a letter from col. Burr, who had landed at Bayou Pierre, with 9 boats and about 100 men. This letter went to an avowal of his innocence of the charges, which rumour and publick apprehension had announced against him, and solicited me to appease the fears which his approach had begotten ; at the same time he guarded me against the horrors of a civil war, and the evils resulting from such a state of things ; this seeming threat induced me to adopt a different mode of conduct, from what the colonel might have expected ; and instead of adopting his pacifick admonition, I ordered a very large portion of the militia of the territory to rendezvous at certain points and wait further orders. With the promptitude of Spartans, our fellow citizens shouldered their firelocks, and in twenty-four hours I had the honour to review 375 men at Natchez, prepared to defend their country. They were ordered, under the command of col. Claiborn, to a point on the river about 21 miles above the city, there to remain to guard the river, and intercept, for inspection, all boats that might descend the river. On the 16th, I dispatched two of my aids to col. Burr, who had tendered his respect to the civil authority ; these gentlemen engaged on my part to give the colonel an interview in the neighbourhood of the detachment stationed at the mouth of Cole's creek. Conformably thereto I met the colonel on the 17th, and after a lengthy interview, he offered to surrender himself to the civil authority of the territory, and to suffer his boats to be searched. On the 18th, col. Burr, accompanied by my aids, majors Shields and Poindexter, rode down to the place, and was committed to the highest tribunal of the civil authority, where he now remains for trial.

Four gentlemen of unquestionable respectability, with a detachment of 30 men, are now in the act of making the search of the boats, and to-morrow I expect their report.

Thus sir, this mighty alarm with all its exaggerations, has eventuated in nine boats and one hundred men, and the major part of these are boys, or young men just from school. Many of their depositions have been taken before judge Rodney, but they bespeak ignorance of the views or designs of the colonel. I believe them really ignorant and deluded. I believe that they are the dupes of stratagem, if the asseverations of generals Eaton and Wilkinson are to be accredited.”

AN ACCOUNT OF A VOYAGE

Up the Mississippi river, from St. Louis to its source; made under the orders of the War Department, by Lieut. PIKE, of the United States army, in the years 1805 and 1806. Compiled from Mr. Pike's journal.

ON the 9th of August, 1805, the exploring party, consisting of lieut. Pike, one serjeant, two corporals and seventeen privates, left their encampment near St. Louis in a keel boat, seventy feet long, provisioned for four months; in order to make a survey of the river Mississippi to its source.

The Mississippi river makes a remarkable bend immediately above the mouth of the Missouri: and, where it receives the waters of the Illinois, that river might be mistaken for a branch or part of the principal stream. The land on the east side appears hilly, rocky and barren; the opposite side is low and flat, over which the Sioux portage passes between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. Near the mouth of the Illinois river is the big cave; above it the river turns to the southward in order to pass round some rocky hills, or a bluff, one hundred feet in height, beyond which it has a north westerly direction to the mouth of Buffalo, or Boeuf river, running in from the west. Five miles farther, on the eastern side, is a beautiful cedar cliff; above which, the river is nearly two miles in width. Some islands, which occur at this place, having their lower ends, nearly in a line, received from the party the appellation of the Four Brothers. The first hills which appear on the west side, are some distance below Salt river; the land on that side, from Boeuf river changes its quality from low and rich, with cotton wood growing thereon, to a light soil, as it approaches the hills. On the other side a handsome rocky bluff had been passed, and high lands are observable back from the river.

Salt river is a considerable stream, and in high water is navigable for boats, at least 200 miles above its mouth.

About 150 miles from the Missouri, is the house of a French settler, situated on the west side of the river, opposite to Hurricane island. His cattle appeared in fine order, but his cornfields were badly cultivated. A mile above this house there is a beautiful hill, level on the top, with an easy ascent on each side, and a fountain of fine water. Five miles from the Hurricane settlement, Jauflione creek falls in from the west; and about twenty miles farther, two rivers on the same side; the northernmost of which is the Wyaconda, one hundred yards in width. The Mississippi is here a mile and a half wide. Several islands present themselves immediately above this place. Seventy-five miles above the Frenchman's, and two hundred and thirty-two from the Missouri, the riviere des Moines comes in from the north west. The width of the Mississippi is here three-fourths of a mile,

Immediately above the confluence of the riviere des Moines with the Mississippi, the falls or rapids of that name commence. These rapids extend eleven miles up the river, are formed by successive ledges, or shoals, which cross its bed. The first fall is the most difficult to ascend: the channel which is a bad one, is on the east side at the two first falls, after which, it crosses to the west, and continues near that shore, to the Sac village. Here the United States have an agent (Mr. William Ewing) appointed to instruct this nation in agriculture. The country on both sides of the river at these rapids is hilly, but the soil is rich. This establishment is in latitude 30 deg. 32 min. north.

Thirty-five miles above the establishment at the Sac village, a very handsome site for a garrison presents itself on the west bank of the river. The channel passes close under the hill, which is about sixty feet in perpendicular height; the top of the hill is level for about four hundred yards; and, in the rear, there is a prairie of eight or ten acres well adapted for gardens. This hill commands an extensive prospect, over a large prairie on the east side of the river, on which is scattered a few small groves of trees. At the foot of the hill, from a limestone rock, issues a spring which would afford an ample supply of water to a regiment of men. The landing is bold and safe; and a road for a team to ascend the hill, may be easily made at the south end. This hill continues about two miles; it covered with black and white oak, and gives rise to five springs in that distance.

On the morning of the 27th, the party reached the mouth of Rock river, ninety-eight miles above the site mentioned as proper for a military post. In this distance they passed a large prairie, called the half way to the prairie des Chiens, and several sand banks, on the east: the Jowa village and creek is on the opposite side. Islands occur very frequently in the river along its whole course. The country on each side is prairie or covered with timber, alternately. Near the mouth of Rock river, in a large prairie on the east side, stands the largest village of Sac Indians. Just above the Rock river, the rapids of that name commence; formed by a series of rocks which in some places cross the river from shore to shore. These rapids extend about eighteen miles along the river: they afford more water than the rapids of la riviere des Moines, but are more rapid and difficult to pass. A few miles up the river than the rapids, the first village of the Reynards is situated on its west bank.

The lead mines which belong to Monsieur Dubuque, are on the west side of the Mississippi, about one hundred and twenty miles above the first village of the Foxes. The dwelling house of the proprietor is near the Mississippi, but the mines are about six miles from it, in a south west direction. Indisposition prevented Mr. Pike from visiting these mines, as he had proposed.

Near the mouth of the Turkey river, on which another village of the Fox Indians is situated, the exploring party of the United States met a war party of Indians consisting of Sacs, Reynards, and Puants, returning. They appeared anxious to avoid the Americans: indeed great pains seem to have been taken to impress on the minds of all the Indians in this quarter, that we are a vindictive, ferocious and warlike people. Although these impressions seem to have been made with evil intentions towards us, they will have a contrary effect when the Indians find our conduct towards them to be magnanimous and just: reverence will then be joined with fear, in estimating the American character. These Indians stated, that they had been as high as lake Pepin, without effecting any thing.

The mouth of the Ouiconsin river, which enters the Mississippi from the east, is in latitude 43 deg. 44 min. 8 sec. N. In the fork made by these rivers, and above the Ouiconsin, is the prairie des Chiens, backed by a high ridge of hills. Gayard and Yellow rivers enter the Mississippi on the west side opposite to this prairie.

At the village of the prairie des Chiens, the exploring party were received with attention by captain Fisher and Mr. Frazer. Accompanied by judge Fisher, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Wood, lieut. Pike ascended the hill on the - - - side of the Mississippi, and made choice of an eligible site for a fort: it was level on the top, had a spring in the rear, and commanded a view of the surrounding country. He designated the spot by marking four trees with the letters A, B, C, and D, and squared the sides of one in the center. On the day following (the 6th of September), he held a council with a small number of the Puants, and a chief of the lower band of the Sioux visited

and laid out the position of a hill called the Petit Gris, near the Ouiconsin, and three miles above its mouth. At the village of the prairie de Chiens, they changed their large boat for others better adapted to the prosecution of their voyage. The party here received an addition to their number of two interpreters; one of which was to go as far as the falls of St. Anthony, and paid by Mr. Frazer; the other was engaged for the whole distance. Mr. Frazer, who was going on a trading expedition, to winter with some of the bands of Sioux, also embarked with them.

While encamped about five miles below the river Jowa, on the 10th of September, Le Feuille, a chief of the Sioux, (and the same they had met at the village of the prairie des Chiens) who reside on this river, sent six of his young men to inform Mr. Pike "that he had waited three days with meat, &c. but that last night his people had begun to drink: that, on the next day, he would meet him with his people." Mr. Frazer and one of the interpreters returned with an answer to the Indians,—"that if the weather permitted the party must pass on, as the season was far advanced."

Mr. Frazer on his return stated, that the chief acquiesced in the reason for proceeding, but he had prepared a pipe (instead of a letter) to present to Mr. Pike, that he might shew it to all the other bands of the Sioux above, with a message to inform them of his being a chief of his new father; and that he wished him to be treated with friendship and respect. When the party arrived opposite to the lodges, the Indians were paraded on the bank with their guns: they fired a salute, with what might be termed three rounds of ball: it was returned from the boats. This mode of saluting might have been less agreeable to others than to soldiers, as the Indians had been drinking, and seemed desirous of shewing how near to the boats they could shoot without injuring them. Mr. Pike went ashore armed with pistols, and his sword, in order to accompany the chief; but, as a mark of confidence in the Indians, he caused such of his party as accompanied him to leave their arms behind, where centinels were placed to guard the boats. At the lodge of the chief, he found a clean mat and pillow to sit upon; the pipe was laid before him on crutches, while the chief placed himself on the right hand, and the interpreter with Mr. Frazer on the left. After smoking, the chief addressed Mr. Pike nearly as follows: "Notwithstanding I saw you at the prairie, I am happy to take you by the hand among my own people, and let my young men see the respect due to their new father. When at Saint Louis in the spring, my father told me, if I looked down the river I should see one of his young warriors coming up. I now find it true; and am happy to see one who knows that the Great Spirit is the Father of all,—both the white and the red people: If one die, the other cannot live long! I have never been at war with our new father; and hope always to preserve the same good understanding with him that now exists. I now present you with a pipe, to shew to the upper bands, in token of our good understanding, that they may see my work, and imitate my conduct to you."

"I went to St. Louis on a shameful visit:—to carry a murderer. You gave the man his life: I am thankful for it.—I have provided something for you to eat; but, perhaps you cannot eat it: if so give it to your young men."

To this speech Mr. Pike replied, "that although at the prairie he had told the chief his business up the Mississippi, he would again relate it." He then stated the objects to which his attention was directed, with regard to the Indians, who had by the cession of Louisiana by Spain, come under the care of the United States; the different posts proposed to be established for supplying them with necessaries, where the agents of the government might hear and attend to their wants, and endeavour to make peace between the Sioux and the Sauteurs. And that it was probable, on his return, he should have some of the Sauteurs with him, and would also take some of

their chiefs to Saint Louis, where they might settle the differences existing between their nations, and put an end to their long and bloody wars. He accepted the pipe with pleasure, as the gift of a great man* and a brother : that it should be as he wished.

Mr. Pike then partook of the dinner which was provided for him, consisting of wild rye and venison, and sent four large bowls of it to the men who accompanied him. After dinner he went to see one of their dances. It was a curious performance. The men and women danced indiscriminately. They were all dressed in their gayest manner ; each of them holding a small skin of some kind in their hands. They frequently ran up to, pointed their skin, and puffed with their breath, or blew at each other. The person thus blown on, whether man or woman, would instantly fall, and appear almost lifeless, or in great agony,—would recover slowly, rise, and again join in the dance. This is called their great medicine ; or, as Mr. Pike construes the word,—the dance of religion. The bystanders actually believe, that something is puffed or blown into each other's body, which produces the falling and other effects which take place. All the Indians are not of the initiated. They must first make presents of forty or fifty dollars value to the society, and give a feast when they are admitted with great ceremony. Mr. Frazer said he was once in a lodge with some young men, when one of these dancers entered : they immediately threw their blankets over him, and forced him out. On his laughing at them, the young Indians called him a fool, and said he did not know what the dancer could blow into his body !

On returning to the boat, Mr. Pike sent for the chief, and presented him with two carrots of tobacco, four knives, half a pound of vermillion, and a quart of salt. Mr. Frazer having asked permission to present them some rum, it was agreed to, and a keg of eight gallons was made up between them. He informed the chief, that he dared not give it without the permission of Mr. Pike. The chief then thanked Mr. Pike for his presents, and said : they must come free, as he did not ask for them :” to which the latter replied, that, “ to those who did not ask for any thing he gave freely, but to those who asked for much, he gave only a little, or none.”

During the time which Mr. Pike was at the Indian camp he had soldiers placed to keep the crowd from his boats :—a duty they discharged with vigilance, driving back the women, children and men, whenever they approached. When leaving these Indians, their warriors said, that, as Mr. Pike had shaken hands with their chief, they must, with his soldiers ;—a request he willingly complied with.

The party embarked about three o'clock, and ascended the river about three miles that evening ; when they were overtaken by Mr. Frazer, who had tarried a little longer at the village with his perogues.

This part of the river is about two miles wide, and full of islands : it shews hills, or prairie knobs on both sides. Opposite to Root river they passed the prairie la Crosse, so called from a game at ball played frequently upon it by the Sioux Indians. This is a handsome prairie, and has a small square hill upon it, similar to those mentioned by Carver. Its rear is bounded by hills, in the same manner as the prairie des Chiens. On this prairie there are holes dug by the Sioux when in expectation of an attack ; in which they first put their women and children, and afterwards crawl themselves. These holes are generally round, and about ten feet in diameter ; but some are half moons, and quite a least work. The latter are the chief's work, and the principal redoubts. The manner of constructing them is this : the moment they apprehend, or discover an enemy, they commence digging with their knives, tomahawks, and a wooden ladle ; and, in an incredible

* He is chief of four bands.

short space of time, will make a hole sufficiently deep to secure themselves and family from the balls or arrows of the enemy. The Indians have no idea of taking these subterraneous redoubts by storm, as many men might be lost in the attack, which, even if successful, would be considered as an imprudent act.

On the 13th of September the party passed the mouth of Black river, entering the Mississippi from the east. It is of considerable size, and Indian traders have wintered 120 miles up it. A little distance above, and where the river of the mountain enters, there is a hill in the Mississippi, which the French term "the mountain which soaks in the river." Here they met the remainder of the war party of the Sacs and Reynards returning from their expedition against the Sauteurs. The interpreter enquired what number of scalps they had taken: their reply was, none. Passing the mountain in the river, the party stopped on the west side, at the prairie L'Aile, when Mr. Pike, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Sparks, went on shore to hunt. Crossing a dry flat prairie they ascended the hills, from which the prospect was very beautiful. On the right was the mountains passed in the morning, and the prairie in the rear, also the mountains of the prairie la Crosse, appearing like distant clouds. On the left, and under their feet was the valley through which the Mississippi flows between two barren hills, as far as the eye can distinguish. The river is divided into numerous channels by beautiful islands. After passing a very thick bottom, fording and swimming three branches of the river, and crossing several morasses, they reached the boats. Signs of elk were frequent, but they were not fortunate enough to meet with any, although those in the boats had seen three. The next day they passed the river Embaras, and L'Eau Clair which enter on the west side, and in the evening stopped opposite to Buffaloe river, running in from the north east. The first of these rivers is navigable 135 miles, and the last, at the head of which the Chipeways reside, is navigable for perogues, for 45 or 50 leagues.

At noon, on the 16th of September they reached the grand encampment, below Lake Pepin: and in the evening, passed the Sautiaux river, which flows in from the east at the entrance of the lake. They continued to sail in the evening, with the intention of crossing the lake. The interpreter (Rosseau) said he had passed this lake twenty times, but never in the day time; alleging as a reason, that the wind frequently rose and detained them in the day time on the lake. It is more probable, however, that the true reason why the traders generally sail through it in the night is, their fear of the Sauteurs, as they have made several war strokes at the mouth of this river, without distinguishing between the Sioux and their traders.

The exploring party entered the lake with music playing; but the sky soon clouded, and, from the agitation of the water, they had to seek a harbour for the night on the east side. The next morning they were assailed by a tremendous storm: the perpendicular lightning seemed to roll in balls of fire down the steep hills which border the lake, and it required great exertions to weather the point de Sable. Here they found a Mr. Cameron, with one wooden and three bark canoes, who had sailed from the prairie on the 5th. His canoes were unladen, and turned up for the habitations of the men. His party exhibited all the indifference of Indian traders. Here they were shewn a point of rocks from which a Sioux woman precipitated herself, and was dashed to pieces on the stones below. Her friends had refused her the husband of her choice, and intended to marry her to one whom she despised. She sung her death song, ascended the hill, and, before her friends came up with her, took the lover's leap; and ended her distress and life together. At the mouth of Canoe river, they met with a band of Sioux, under the command of the *Requing*, the second chief of the nation. He made

a speech, and presented Mr. Pike with a pipe, pouch, and buffaloe skin. They encamped opposite to the Indians, on an island in the river, the chief having promised to accompany them to the river St. Peter. He appeared to be a sensible man ; saluted the party, and received a small present.

They reached the St. Croix river, at noon on the 19th, and in the evening encamped on a prairie on the east side of the river, where stands a large painted stone. On the morning of the 21st, they arrived at the Sioux village, situated at the head of an island and just below a ledge of rocks. It was unpeopled, the Indians being absent. Two miles higher, they saw three bears cross the river. Here was another camp of Sioux, consisting of four lodges ; they saw but one man, named the Black Soldier. The garrulity of the women was astonishing, since at all the other camps they had been silent ; here they flocked round the strangers, all talking together, which could only be accounted for by the absence of the men.

Three miles below the mouth of St. Peter's river, they passed the encampment of Mr. Ferrebault, who had broken his perogue. The Mississippi was so narrow in this day's course, that they crossed it in a batteaux with forty strokes of the oars. The water of the Mississippi, above lake Pepin, appears red, and where deep, nearly as black as ink. The water flowing in from the St. Peters, and St. Croix rivers, give it a blue appearance for a considerable distance below their confluence.

Observing a white flag on shore, they landed and found it to be of white silk : it was suspended over a scaffold, on which lay four dead bodies : two were enclosed in boards, and two in bark. They were wrapped up in blankets which appeared yet new. They were the bodies of Sioux women, a child of one of them, and some other relative. Some of them had died on the St. Peter's, others on the St. Croix, but were brought and deposited on this scaffold together. It is the mode in which the Sioux bury those of their people who die a natural death : but those who are killed, are suffered to lie unburied. As a corroboration of this information Mr. Pike relates, that on the hills below the St. Croix he found the bones of a man which he supposed had been killed on the spot.

Before the party reached the mouth of St. Peter's river, they were overtaken by Mr. Frazer and his perogues, who had been left behind at the head of lake Pepin with Mr. Cameron. A short time afterwards, the Petit Corbeau, at the head of his band, arrived with about 150 warriors. They honored Mr. Pike with a salute, in the Indian manner, with ball ! after which it was agreed that a council should be held on the day following. Messrs. Pike and Frazer took a bark canoe, and went up St. Peter's river, to the Indian village, to see Mr. Cameron : he engaged to be at the council the next day. The current of St. Peter's river is very gentle.

The Sioux had marched on a war excursion, but being informed, by express, of the arrival of the United States party, they returned by land. When at the village they were hospitably received, and bawled and halloed after, to enter every lodge to eat. On their return, they found their men and the Indians peaceably encamped.

The council was held on the 23d, under a bower or shed, formed of the sails of the boats, on the beach, by the orders of Mr. Pike. Into it, only his gentlemen, (the traders) and the chiefs entered. He addressed them in a speech of considerable length ; the principal subject of which was, the desire of obtaining from them a grant of lands at this place (the falls of St. Anthony,) and at St. Croix ; and, the making peace between them and the Chipeways. He was replied to by the Fils de Penichon, Le Petit Corbeau, and L'Original levé. They gave the land required, 100,000 acres, and promised a safe passport for him, and any chiefs he might bring down ; but spoke doubtfully respecting the peace. Mr. Pike then gave them presents

to the value of two hundred dollars. After the council was over, he permitted the traders to present them with some liquor ; which, with what he furnished, made about sixty gallons. In an hour afterwards, they were all embarked for their respective villages. The chiefs in the council were Le Petit Corbeau,—he signed the grant ; Le Fils de Penichon—he also signed ; Le Grand Partisan, L' Orignal levé, Le Bucasse, and Le Bœuf que Marche. It was somewhat difficult to obtain their signatures to the grant, as they conceived their word of honor sufficient, Mr. Pike having to represent to them, that it was not on their account, but his, that the signing was required.

An accident happened here which, for a short time, was likely to disturb their harmony. The morning after the council was held, Mr. Pike missed his flag ; which had either been stolen, or had fallen over board. He sent for L' Orignal levé, and in his presence punished the guard for his negligence, and sent a party three miles down the river in search of the flag, to shew his anger at the loss. In the night, however, he was awakened by Le Petit Corbeau, who had come from his village to see if any accident had befallen the party, as the flag had been found floating three miles below their village (15 miles from St. Peters) having concluded from this circumstance, that some affray had taken place, in which the flag had been thrown over board. Although the loss of the flag had been considered an unfortunate circumstance it proved the means of preventing an effusion of blood. A chief, called the Outarde Blanche, who had got his lip cut off, came to the Petit Corbeau in his village, and told him "his face was his looking glass ; it was spoiled, and he was determined on revenge." Accordingly both parties were charging their guns, when the lost flag of the United States appeared in the midst of them. They were all astonished to see it there, with the staff broken.

Petit Corbeau spoke to this effect. "A thing so sacred had not been taken from the boat without violence. It would be proper for them to hush their private animosities until they had revenged the cause of their eldest brother. He would immediately go up to St. Peter's to know what dogs had done the thing, and take steps to get satisfaction from those who had done it." They all listened to this reasoning ; immediately put the flag to dry, and embarked for the camp of the United States party. Mr. Pike gave him five yards of blue stroud, three yards of calico, a handkerchief, a carrot of tobacco, and a knife, in order to have the peace made up with the Outarde Blanche. He promised to send the flag to the falls, and make up the matter with his antagonist.

Whilst detained by the loss of his flag, Mr. Pike sent a flag and two carrots of tobacco, by Mr. Cameron, to the Sioux, on the head of the St. Peter's ; made a draft of the place, and, dispatched the boat he had obtained from Mr. Fisher at the village of the prairie des Chiens, to the village of the Saint Peters, to be exchanged for a barge with Mr. Duncan. The boat thus obtained, was a fine light vessel, eight men being able to carry her.

After much labour and fatigue in getting the boat through the rapids, they reached the foot of the falls of Saint Anthony on the evening of the 26th, and began to carry their loading over the portage, to where Mr. Pike had pitched his tent above the shoot. The rapids below the shoot may properly be called a continuation of the falls of Saint Anthony : they deserve the appellation of falls equally with those of the Delaware and Schuylkill. The lost flag was brought to them at this place by two young Indians.

While the men were at work transporting the barge over the portage, and three-fourths of a mile distant from the camp where they had left their arms, seven Indians, painted black, appeared on the height near them. They proved to be a part of the Sioux war party, who were too obstinate to return when the others came in. They were better armed than the Indians

generally are : having guns, bows, arrows, war-clubs and spears, and some of them pistols. As they made their appearance when the men of the party were taking a refreshing dram, Mr. Pike handed some to the Indian. The first emptied the cup, which was presented to him, which proved a caution as to the quantity to be given to the others. The interpreter was sent with them to the camp, as Mr. Pike wished to purchase one of their war-clubs made of elk's horn, and decorated with inlaid work ;—also a set of their bows and arrows. But the liquor beginning to operate, the Indian to whom they belonged, came back to the party for Mr. Pike. On his refusing to go until the boat was got over the portage, the Indian was probably offended, as he borrowed a canoe and crossed the river. After getting their boat nearly to the top of the hill, the props gave way, and she slid down to the bottom, but without injuring any person.

The day following, the large boat was got over the portage ; after which, the men gave a very decisive proof of their fatigue, by throwing themselves down to sleep, instead of getting supper. Six of the men out of twenty-two, were at this time sick.

The proper time for performing the voyage up the Mississippi appears to be,—to leave the Illinois as soon as the ice breaks up ; but, if deferred even to June, it may be performed with great certainty ; for then the water in the river would be sufficiently high.

If it is ever possible to pass these falls in high water, which is a doubtful thing, it must be done on the eastern side, about thirty yards from the shore ; where the fall is formed by three layer of rocks, one below the other : the pitch of none of which appears higher than five feet.

Above the falls, for forty or fifty miles, the navigation is much impeded by shoals and ripples ; and would be considered impracticable by persons not determined to proceed ; for the men must wade, and push the boat along, a great portion of the distance. Below Crow river, they killed an animal unknown to Mr. Pike, called a Blaireau.

Opposite to the mouth of Crow river they found a bark canoe cut to pieces by tomahawks, and the paddles broken on shore. They continued to meet with the wrecks of canoes as they ascended,—eight in the whole. From the form of these canoes, the interpreter supposed them to be Sioux ; and some broken arrows found with them, he pronounced to be Sauteurs. These circumstances led to the conclusion that the canoes had belonged to a party of Sioux, who had been attacked by the Sauteurs, and all either killed or taken. The interpreter was alarmed lest they might be attacked by the Chipeways, under the supposition of being Sioux traders, before an explanation could take place ; three Frenchmen whom they had caught ashore near this place, having been killed the last spring. Notwithstanding this caution, Mr. Pike was frequently on shore in pursuit of game, which had become more plentiful since passing the falls of St. Anthony, than it was below. Elk, bear, racoons, pheasants, geese and prairie hens, were frequently met with.

On the 5th of October they passed several old Sioux encampments, all of which were fortified ; they found five litters on which the sick, or wounded had been carried. A hard battle had been fought here between the Sioux and Sauteurs, in the present year. On the next day when hunting, Mr. Pike found a small red capot, hung on a tree : this the interpreter said was an offering to the Bon Dieu.

On the morning of the 10th they reached the place where Mr. Rienville and Monsr. Perlier wintered in 1797. Above it is a cluster of more than twenty islands in the course of four miles, which they named the Beaver islands from the great signs of those animals which were exhibited, there being dams on every island, and roads from them every two or three rods.

In the evening they arrived at the grand rapids. These falls are dangerous and difficult to pass; from the inequality in the depth of the water, and number of rocks. The boats must be lifted over rocks not covered by one foot of water, while the next step plunges the boatman over his head. The boats frequently swing on these rocks, to the great hazard of their bilging.

Five miles higher than the rapids they found their large boat to leak so fast, as to render it necessary to unload her. Near a war encampment, at this place, was a painted buckskin and a piece of scarlet cloth suspended on the limb of a tree; supposed to be a Matcho Manitou, to render their enterprise successful; less superstitious than the Indians, Mr. Pike converted this donation to the evil spirit, to his own use.

On the thirteenth they passed a handsome little river; which enters the Mississippi from the east. Here, on the only timbered land they had seen above the falls of Saint Anthony was discovered the first signs of buffaloe.

On the day following, when hunting, Mr. Pike came on a trail which he supposed to be of savages; he pursued it with great caution for some time, when he started a large bear which had been feeding on the carcase of a deer. The river became shoal, rapid and full of islands as they ascended: it is skirted in some places by well timbered land, while swamps of hemlock and white pine frequently appear.

On the morning of the 16th the ground was covered with snow, two inches deep, which had fallen in the preceding night. It continued snowing, and the party had to pass a rapid immediately above them by wading to their necks in the water. Mr. Pike having determined to reach Le Riviere de Corbeau, the highest point ever made by traders in their bark canoes, an attempt was made to get over the rapids. After some hours exertion they were obliged to put ashore, at about two thirds up the rapids, with their limbs benumbed by the cold. Their boats filled with water so fast, as to keep most of the hands employed in bailing. The serjeant, a very stout man, had broken a blood vessel, and discharged nearly two quarts of blood by the mouth: one of the corporals evacuated nearly a pint when he attempted to void his urine. These circumstances, and four of his men having previously been rendered useless, shewed the necessity of abandoning the river with the large boats, and erecting huts for the winter, where some of the party might be left whilst the others proceeded to the source of the river. The beauty of the situation, plenty of game, and abundance of fine pine timber in its vicinity, were additional reasons for stopping at this place.

Constructing small canoes for the purpose of continuing the voyage as far as practicable, and erecting the log huts, or station, for the party who were to remain here, occupied those who were not employed in hunting until the 2d of November.

Before leaving this place Mr. Pike had determined to get an elk, the signs of which were numerous. For this purpose he went down the river about twelve miles to a prairie on the east side, accompanied by one of his detachment. They fell in with a large drove of elk, and followed them, until they were weary, without killing any: they shot at and wounded deer which they could not afterwards track, and closed their first day "hungry, cold, and fatigued!" Resuming their chase of the elk with the morning, they attempted to drive them into the wood, but the leader of the drove breaking past them, the others followed him fearlessly in the same track. Their fire on the passing drove produced no effect. Thus disappointed they attempted to reach the river, by pursuing a south course. It carried them to Elk lake, which is about five miles long, and two miles wide, at the close of the second day. On both its banks they observed

droves of elk ; and about sunset, two bucks of a drove, which was crossing the prairie, came near them. One of them was killed ; and, as it fulfilled the promise which Mr. Pike had made when he left the station,—the death of this elk recompensed him for the fatigue of two days spent without food in the pursuit ! Whilst carrying one half to their fire, at the distance of a mile, the wolves seized the remainder.

One of the men having killed two deer about six miles below their encampment, and near the river, three of the party were sent in a canoe for them on the evening of the 6th with directions to return in the morning. It snowed all night ; and the men not returning, Mr. Pike went in search of them to the place where he understood the game had been killed. Discovering nothing of his men there, and knowing the hostile disposition of the Chipeways to persons found on this part of the river, whom they suppose are traders, he became uneasy, as to their fate. The snow continued to fall very fast, it was near a foot in depth, and he could scarcely find wood enough to make a fire for the night. The ice was forming rapidly in the river. The men not arriving in the course of the evening, he determined in the morning to return to the station ; and with a party resume the search for them. After writing on the snow directions to the lost men, should they arrive, and putting up his handkerchief as a flag, he took about ten pounds of meat, a bear skin, his gun and sword, and thus laden set out. Such was the anxiety of mind he laboured under that, notwithstanding the load he carried, he reached the bottom above their former hunting camp before night. In the course of the journey he passed several deer, and one elk, but declined firing, as it was doubtful whether he could have saved the meat had he been so fortunate as to kill any of them. While endeavouring to kindle a fire, he heard the sound of voices ; on looking up he discovered a corporal and three of his men passing. He called them to him, and they encamped together. They were going down the river in order to render what service they could to the party, whom they supposed had met with some difficulty from the ice, in ascending the river with their venison. They were very much hurt to find that Mr. Pike could give no tidings of the men. After experiencing some difficulty in crossing the river, they reached the station about noon. On the 11th two of the three men who were supposed to be lost, arrived ; they had seen and understood the writing on the snow, and had left the other man at their camp to take care of the meat. Their detention was owing to their not being able to find the deer which had been shot, and losing themselves in the swamp the first night.

In the afternoon of the 14th it rained with severe thunder and lightning ; which was followed by an extraordinary cold evening.

Whatever charms there may be in the occasional pursuit of game, the life of a hunter is a slavish and precarious one. For although Mr. Pike had sometimes killed as much as six hundred weight in one day, at other times he spent three days, and only procured some small birds which he was compelled to shoot, to prevent his men from starving.

To hunt the elk with success, the gun should carry a ball of a size not more than 30 in the pound ;—an ounce ball would be preferable. Were these animals followed on horseback, by persons dextrous in the use of the bow and arrow, he supposes greater numbers might be killed than by any other means. The hunter might ride along side of them, lodge his arrow in what part of the body he pleased, and leaving the wounded one pass on to others.

On the 27th the men were sent down the river for eleven deer which one of the hunters had killed. They returned with seventeen deer and two elk

from the lower camp, and accompanied by two Indians, who stated that they belonged to a band residing on lake Superiour, called Fols Avoines. Their language was that of the Chipeways. They said that Mr. Dickson and three other traders were established about sixty miles below ; and that there were seventy lodges of Sioux on the Mississippi. The Indians were well satisfied with their reception ; and in consequence of the information they gave, Mr. Pike dispatched two of his men with a letter to Mr. Dickson, for the purpose of attaching the most powerful tribes in this quarter to his interests. On the 29th a Sioux (the son of a warrior called the Killien Rouge of the gens de feuille) and a Fols Avoine, came to the post. He stated that having struck their trail, and finding some to be shoe tracks, he supposed it led to the establiment of some trader, and followed it. He also stated that Mr. Dickson had told the Sioux "that they might hunt where they pleased, as the United States party were gone ahead, and would cause the Chipeways to treat them with friendship whenever Mr. Pike met with that nation. That he had barred up the mouth of the St. Peters, so that no liquor could ascend that river ; but if they came on the Mississippi, they should have what liquor they pleased, and that the party had a great deal of merchandize to give to Indians in presents."

This misrepresentation of facts seemed intended to serve his own views, and draw the Indians from the traders on the St. Peter's who adhered to the restricting law against supplying them with liquor to his own camp on the Mississippi, where he promised to supply them : it might have a farther ill effect ; for, under the expectation of hunting on the Mississippi in security, should any of them be killed, the blame would attach to the United States party. Mr. Pike therefore explained fully to the young chief the real facts and his ideas on the subject, and dismissed them on the day following with some trifling presents.

On the 3rd of December, Mr. Dickson with an engagee, and a young Indian, arrived at the post, where they were received with politeness and attention. After a serious conversation, on the information given by the young chief, it appeared to be in part incorrect : for Mr. D. denied, that either himself, or any houses under his direction, sold liquor. He gave such useful information relative to the future route of the party as led to a full confidence in the fulfilment of the object of the voyage. He appeared to be a gentleman of general commercial knowledge, and much geographical information relative to the western country. When Mr. Dickson left the station on the 4th he furnished Mr. Pike with a letter to a young man of his house on lake de Sable, and offered his services to any extent.

Three families of the Fols Avoine Indians arrived on the 6th, as also a Sioux Indian who pretended to have been sent from the Gens de Feuille, to give information that the Yanktons and Sussitones, two of the most savage bands of the Sioux, residing near the heads of the St. Peter's and the Missouri river, had commenced the war dance, and would depart in a few days ; in which case he conceived it best that the Fols Avoine should keep under the protection of the exploring party. He stated that he gave this information, as the making a stroke on the Chipeway would tend to defeat the object of the United States party. Although there were reasons for believing him a self deputed envoy, Mr. Pike offered to pay either him or any other young Sioux, who would go to these bands and deliver his words. The Indian promised to make them known on his return. On the next day another of the Fols Avoine tribe encamped near the stockade. The Indian named Chien Blanche, was an intelligent man ; and stated that he had wintered on that place for ten years past. Mr. Pike visited his lodge in the afternoon, and found him seated in the midst of his children, and grand child.

ren, amounting to ten in number. His wife, although advanced in years, was suckling two children that appeared nearly of the same age (two years) and which might have been taken for twins, had not one been of a much clearer complexion than the other. On enquiry he found that the fair one was the child of an Englishman by one of Chien Blanche's daughters lately dead; since which, the grand mother had taken it to her breast. The lodge was covered with mats made of platted rushes. To these Indians he was obliged to give meat;—but on explaining the situation the party were in, with respect to provisions, the Chien Blanche said, they were then without food, but would return a greater quantity for it in the course of the winter.

An invalid Sioux arrived on the 8th, with information that the Sissatones, and Yanktons were determined to make war on the Chipeways, and that they had formed a party of 150, or 160 men for the purpose: but that a part of the Sissatones had refused to join in the expedition, and would visit the exploring party on the day following. This information led Mr. Pike to defer the voyage to Lac Sangsue, which he had in contemplation, until he had seen these Indians; as he might, perhaps, be the means of preventing the intended stroke against the Chipeways. In expectation of a visit from the Indians, he had two large kettles of soup made for them. The Sioux did not arrive.

Leaving some of his men at the stockade, or station, Mr. Pike set off with the remainder in prosecution of his voyage to the source of the river, with sledges similar to those used by farmers, and capable of holding about four hundred weight. They crossed the river on the evening of the 9th of December, and encamped above the rapids. In the morning they began their march up the river: each of the sleds was drawn by two men, and the perogue towed by three. They found it difficult to get along; the snow being dissolved in many places on the prairie. The men with the canoe had frequently to wade and drag her over the rocks. As the party had now to depend altogether on game for their subsistence, the real dangers, and the difficulties to be encountered were communicated to the men this evening.

In the afternoon of the second day, they heard not less than fifty guns fired ahead; and, after dark, five more, with a noise and shouting in the prairie. Mr. Pike and a corporal pushed on 8 miles in advance of the party, with the hope of finding the Indians, but without success. They however found that the river was frozen so as to enable them to travel on the ice, and proceed three times as fast as they had hitherto done. A Fols Avoine, who met the party, informed them that, in the rear of the hills which bordered the prairie, there were small lakes which, by portages, communicated with lake Superior; and, that in one day's march in that direction, English trading houses would be met with. That the Chipeways were then hunting, and that the Sioux, who had visited the station on the 29th of the preceding month, on hearing the firing, had prudently retired to the west side of the Mississippi.

Persons unacquainted with the enterprising spirit of trade, and of the people of the North West company, would be surprised to find they had penetrated the wilderness so far from lake Superior, by lakes which are little better than marshes. It may serve to shew the difficulty of putting a barrier to their trade in this quarter.

Whilst proceeding up the river, the foremost of the sleds, which contained all their ammunition, and the baggage of Mr. Pike, fell through the ice. The men had to get into the river, up to their middles in water, to recover the articles: and on an examination of them it was found that all their cartridges, and several pounds of battle powder was spoilt; what they happened to have in kegs was saved, or they must have given up the prosecu-

tion of the voyage for want of the means of supplying themselves with provisions. Several other articles were materially injured. At the time they met with this accident, two Fols Avoine Indians arrived ; one of whom had been at the camp on the 29th of November, in company with the Sioux. Mr. Pike shewed them by signs where he intended to encamp, and invited them to join him. They retired, but returned in the evening to the camp with each a deer, as a present. In the morning a small present was made in return, and the canoe was given to them to keep until the spring. After remaining two days encamped they left it on the morning of the 17th, with their sleds very heavy laden. Having eleven deer on hand, and it being necessary to lighten their load, a hole was dug in the ground, in which a barrel of pork, and one of flour, wrapped in deer skins to keep off the damp, were deposited. After filling up the pit, they made their fire immediately over it. On the evening of the 20th, they deposited another barrel of flour, and heard three guns fired at sunset.

On Tuesday, the 24th of December, they reached the Isle de Corbeau, in lat. 45 deg. 49 min. 50 sec. north, at the confluence of the riviere de Corbeau with the Mississippi. The latter river, above this place, is very narrow, and changes its general direction, from west to northeast.

From the frequent breaking of their sleds, and accidents of that nature, the progress of the party was very slow : sometimes not more than four miles in a day, and seldom exceeding ten.

After passing the riviere de Corbeau, the timber consisted of yellow and pitch pine : scarcely any of which had been met with below. Much of it is dead. The country becomes dreary and barren, with high rocks and bare knobs. As they proceeded up the river, the bottoms were found to extend, and the country was full of small lakes. On approaching Pine river, a new species of pine called by the French "Sappine," was observed to grow in abundance.

At the mouth of Pine river is the site of a large Chipeway encampment, of fourteen lodges. It had been occupied in the summer, but was then vacant. From the marks which were left, it appeared that they had marched a party of fifty warriors against the Sioux, and had killed four men and four women. The women were represented by carved images of pine or cedar, the four men were painted and planted up to their middles in the ground, with four poles, sharpened at the ends, by their sides. Near this place they observed poles, on which deer skins, plumes, silk handkerchiefs, &c. were suspended ; as also a circular hoop of cedar with something attached to it, which had the appearance of a scalp. Near the site of each lodge was a hole dug in the ground, with boughs ready to cover it, as a retreat for their women and children in case of an attack from the Sioux.

Higher up they passed six very elegant bark canoes, which had been laid up by the Chipeways ; as also a camp, curiously formed of pine branches ; which did not seem to have been evacuated more than ten days.

On the evening of the 2nd of January, 1806, the centinel gave information that some Indians were coming at full speed upon the trail or track of the party. The men were ordered to stand by their arms carelessly. The Indians were immediately in the camp, and saluted the flag by a discharge of three pieces, when four Chipeways, one Englishman, and a Frenchman of the North West company presented themselves. They stated, that some women having discovered the trail, and not knowing but it might be their enemies, had given the alarm. They had heard of the United States party, and revered the flag. Mr. Grant (the Englishman) had only arrived the day before from lake de Sable ; from which he had marched in a day and a half. The Indians were presented with half a deer, for which they were very thankful, having been kept in their camp some days by the discovery of the fires which the exploring party made where they stopped.

The next morning the party continued their journey, except Mr. Pike and one of his men, who accompanied Mr. Grant to his establishment on the Red Cedar lake. The British flag was flying at the trading house :—Mr. Grant said it belonged to the Indians. After explaining to a Chipeway warrior, called 'Curlyhead,' the objects of the voyage, and receiving his answer, which was that he should remain quiet till their return, they eat breakfast and parted. Mr. Pike and his companion overtook the rest of the party at the close of the day.

In the night of the 4th, Mr. Pike's tent was discovered by the centinel to be on fire ; the party were alarmed in time to prevent any other damage than the loss of the tent, which was a double one, and some articles of cloathing which had been hung to dry. They fortunately saved three small kegs of powder from the flames, which were in the tent.

On the 6th, the snow was three feet deep, and continued falling all the day. In this day's march they met two Frenchmen, of the N. W. company, each of whom carried about 200 pounds weight on his back. They had rackets on. Mr. Grant, and the Frenchman with him, were gone on before. The next day was so intensely cold that several of the men had their extremities frozen. It was found necessary to send a person forward to make fires every three miles.

Supposing themselves to be at no great distance from Sandy lake, Mr. Pike, with a corporal, left the party, and went to view it. They walked briskly till towards evening, when they met a young Indian, one of those who had visited their camp near Red Cedar lake. They endeavoured to explain to him their wish of reaching lake de Sable that evening. He turned back with them until they came to a trail which led across the woods, which he signified was a near course. They went with him, and soon found themselves in a Chipeway encampment, to which the friendly savage had led them, with the expectation of their remaining at it all night, knowing it to be too late to reach the lake at a reasonable hour. On their refusing to stay he put them in the right road. At dusk they arrived at the place where the track left the Mississippi, when they traversed two leagues of the wilderness without much difficulty, and at last struck the shore of the lake de Sable, over a branch of which their course lay. The snow having covered the trail of the Frenchmen who had passed before with rackets, they were fearful of losing themselves on the lake. The reason for such apprehension can be best felt by those who have been exposed on a naked and dreary plain, in a high latitude, on a December night, when the mercury in Farenheit's thermometer stood twenty-seven degrees below 0. Cheered by a belief that they saw the opposite shore, they proceeded in a direct line ; and after some time had the satisfaction of discovering lights in the houses. On their arrival they found, to their surprize, a large stockade. The gate being opened they entered, and proceeded to the quarters of Mr. Grant, where they were treated with the greatest hospitality.

This establishment was made by the North West company twelve years before : when it was under the direction of Mr. Charles Bousky. It has now acquired such a degree of regularity as to allow the superintendant to live with tolerable comfort. They have horses, which were obtained from the Indians on Red river.

They raise plenty of potatoes, and the lake furnishes them with pike, suckers, pickerel, and white fish, in any number. Beaver, deer, and moose, are in abundance ; but their principal dependance is on the wild oats, which they purchase from the Indians at the rate of one dollar and a half the bushel. Flour, pork, and salt may be considered as interdicted articles to persons not principals in the establishment. Flour sells at half a dollar, salt one dollar, pork 80 cents, sugar half a dollar, and tea at four dollars and

a half a pound ! The sugar is obtained from the Indians, and made from maple juice.

The remainder of the party did not arrive at the establishment of the N. W. company, on lake de Sable, until the evening of the thirteenth ; one of the men had been much injured by the fall of a tree ; this, with the badness of the ice on Lake river, (occasioned by the marshes which abound on it) and through which one of the sleds fell, had much retarded their progress. At the establishment they were furnished with a warm room, and well treated. Mr. Grant had gone to an Indian lodge to receive his credits.

On the 14th Mr. Pike, crossed the lake, and ascertained the latitude to be 46 deg. 9 min. 20 sec. north. Mr. Grant returned on this day, with a quantity of furs, and eleven beaver carcasses.

Mr. Pike, and Mr. Grant, accompanied by two of the party, went to view the lake, and found it more extensive than he had imagined. On leaving the stockade they met an Indian, whose countenance expressed great astonishment when told that Mr. Pike was an American ; for, it is here confessed that the savages express the greatest veneration for the American character when it is connected with warlike achievements : they say, "the American is neither a Frenchman nor an Englishman, but a white Indian." At this place the men were employed in making sleds to conform to those used in this part of the country : which are, a single plank turned up like the head of a violin. The baggage is lashed on in bags or sacks.

On the 19th two men of the N. W. company arrived from the Fond de Lac Superieur with letters ; one of which was from their establishment in Atabasca, and had been since May in coming.

While at this post, they eat beaver dressed in every respect as roasted pig. It had no unpleasant taste ; on the contrary, was very excellent eating. The head of the moose, which they also eat here, when well boiled, was considered equal to the tail of the beaver, to which in taste and substance it is similar.

On the 20th January, the party and sleds left the North West company's station, and reached the portage between the Mississippi and Leech Lake river. It began to snow in the evening, and continued all night and the morning of the next day. From the quantity of water on the ice, it was found impracticable to get all the baggage along ; eight men were therefore sent back laden with those articles which were not absolutely necessary to the party. Mr. Grant who had accompanied them thus far, not being so incumbered with articles as they were, left them on the morning of the second day. As they approached the neighbourhood of a lodge or house belonging to Mr. Grant, where he had promised to halt half a day, Mr. Pike, accompanied by an Indian in his party and one of the men, left the main body, to go to it : the soldier, not walking with the same speed, was left behind, while Mr. Pike and his companion reached the house about sunset : they met two of Mr. Grant's men, who had left it in the morning, on their return to the lake de Sable. Here they passed an uncomfortable night ; having nothing to eat, very little fire wood, and no blankets. The Indian, however, slept sound, while Mr. Pike sat over the few coals their fire produced. The man they had left behind did not arrive that night. The Indian having expressed a wish to go after his son, left Mr. Pike to his reflections in solitude, the next morning. About ten o'clock the soldier arrived : he had followed them until some time in the night, when, finding he could not overtake his company, he made a fire and halted ; but having no ax, could scarcely keep himself from freezing. He met the Indian in the morning, who made signs for him to go on. After the whole party had arrived at this lodge, Mr. Pike determined to proceed on to the head of the river,

accompanied by one of his young men, named Miller. He left the camp on the morning of the 29th, when it was snowing very fast. They passed an island, one rapid and a small lake, and arrived about one o'clock at the falls of Pakagama; the greatest impediment to the navigation of the Mississippi, except the falls of Saint Anthony, between its source and the Gulph of Mexico. They stopped for the night at three Indian lodges, which did not appear to have been left more than three days; and where they found a fine parcel of split wood. By cutting down three sapping trees, and weaving their branches into the windward side of the lodges, so as to protect them from the storm, they had a tolerable night's lodging. Not being able to find a trail, they had to pass through a dismal cypress swamp in the morning, before they reached the river. They struck it at a small lake, and perceived a track through it, which they knew to be Mr. Grant's by his mark, 'a cut off,' which had been agreed upon before they parted: following this, they got on very well till they arrived at a small lake where the trail was entirely obliterated. After some search on the opposite side they discovered it, and passed through a dismal swamp, beyond which was another lake, where the track was again lost. They directed their course for a point about three miles distant, and where they found a Chipeway lodge of one man, his wife, five children, and an old woman. They were received by these savages with great barbarity; the dogs were set on them, and when they reached the lodge, the Indians endeavoured to thrust their hands into their pockets. This was resented in such a manner as to let them know it would not be borne with through fear, and, that the strangers were Che-wockmen, or Americans. They were then treated more civilly. After arranging their camp, Mr. Pike went into the lodge, where he was presented with a plate of dried meat. He requested Miller to bring about two gills of whiskey which made them all good friends. The old squaw gave him in return more meat, and offered some tobacco, the latter of which he declined; and gave her an order on his corporal for a knife, and half a carrot of tobacco. After Mr. Pike had gone to his own fire, the old man came out, and proposed to trade beaver skins for whiskey; meeting a refusal, he returned, and directly the old woman came out with a beaver skin; she being also refused, he returned to the charge with a quantity of dried meat, which on any other terms would have been acceptable; a peremptory refusal now, put an end to all farther application. Indeed it appeared, that such was their desire of obtaining liquor, that a quart of whiskey would have purchased all the family was worth! The next morning Mr. Pike took his clothes into the Indian lodge to dress, but was received very coolly; a present to the wife of a little salt, and a dram to the Indian unasked for, appeared to ameliorate their manners; and they gave directions of the rout to be pursued.

They passed the lake, or morass, and entered on the meadow through which the Mississippi winds its course of nearly fifteen miles; at the head of this meadow they discovered that they had missed the river, which they regained by making a turn of two miles. They passed the fork made by the lake Sangsue branch and that from lake Winepic. Taking a west course, they crossed a meadow, or prairie. The river here is only fifteen yards wide. They encamped about a mile above the meadow, where they saw an animal which, from the leaps it took, seemed to be a panther, but of twice the size of the panther on the lower Mississippi. It shewed some disposition to approach Mr. Pike, which he wished to encourage by squatting down, and desiring Miller to do the same behind him, but without effect. The night was so cold, that the spirits they had in a keg congealed to the consistence of honey. Early in the morning they left the camp, and passed along a continued suite of meadows, until they reached the Sangsue

lake, a little after midday. The sight of this lake was highly grateful to their feelings, it being the main source of the Mississippi ; but the little lake Winepic is navigable to Red Cedar lake, which is the extremity of the navigation, by a communication of five leagues. Across the lake it was twelve miles to the establishment of the North West Company, which they arrived at about ten o'clock in the evening. The gates were locked, but on knocking they were admitted, and received by Mr. Hugh M'Gillis, with great politeness and hospitality ; and had a supper of biscuit, butter, and cheese !

After remaining a few days within doors, to recover from the fatigue of travelling, Mr. Pike, accompanied by Mr. M'Gillis, went to visit Mr. Anderson, the agent of Mr. Dickson, at the west end of the lake, in a situation favourable for trade. He went in a cabriole, formed to carry one person. It is constructed of boards planed smooth, and turned up about two feet in front, where they come to a point ; the width behind is about two feet and a half, where there is fixed a box covered with dressed skins, and painted. This box is open behind, but covered in front nearly two thirds of the length. When wrapped up in his buffaloe robe, the traveller slides his feet into this box, or boot, horizontally, sitting with his body upright, and his back supported by a cushion. The horse draws in shafts. Thus seated, and the head and extremities covered by a fur cap, and other warm clothing, he bids defiance to wind and weather.

On returning to the N. W. establishment, they found that some of the Indians had already arrived from their hunting camps ; and a Mons. Bous-sant, who had been sent from the establishment some time before on business of the company, but who not returning when expected, it was supposed the Indians had killed him. Mr. Grant had been sent in search of, and returned with him, to the great joy of the factory. On the 10th they hoisted the American flag, on the staff on which the English jack was then flying. Some Indians and riflemen, after a few shot, broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and brought it to the ground.

The 'Sweet,' Buck, Burnt, and other chiefs, came in on the day following. The first of them is a venerable old man. He says that, "when he was made a man, and began to hunt, the Sioux occupied this ground ; that they evacuated it in the same year in which the French missionaries were killed at the river Pacagama."

Mr. M'Gillis, with two of his men, and Mr. Pike, with a corporal of his corps, left Leech lake on the morning of the 12th of February, and arrived at the company's house, on Red Cedar lake, at sun-set—a distance of thirty miles. This lake is about ten miles long, and six miles wide. From the Straights to where the Mississippi runs out of the lake, is called six miles. The bay at the entrance extends nearly east and west six miles. It is about two miles and a half from the north side to a big point. This may be called the upper source of the Mississippi, being fifteen miles above lake Winepic, and the extent of canoe navigation. It is only two leagues from some of the waters of Hudson's bay.

The next day, Mr. Pike took observations for determining the latitude of the place, and found it to be 47 deg. 42 min. 40 sec. N. Mr. Thompson, in the year 1798, determined the latitude of the company's house here to be in 47 deg. 30 min. N. which he considered as the source of the Mississippi.

On walking about three miles back from the lake, Mr. Pike found two-thirds of the country, at least, covered with water.

Here they eat of the white fish, broiled on iron grates, fixed horizontally in the chimney. The entrails are left in the fish while dressing ! From

hence one of the men walked to lake Winepic, and returned by one o'clock with the stem of the Sweet's pipe :—to him of as much consequence in his affairs with the Sioux, as the credentials of a civilized society to its ambassador.

They left this house, and their hospitable hosts, (a Canadian, and his wife, a Chipeway squaw) who relinquished to their use the only article which might be called a bed, attended them as servants, and could not be persuaded to touch a mouthful until their guests had finished their repasts, and arrived at the factory about sunset ; having been drawn at least ten miles in a sleigh by two dogs, who were loaded with six hundred pounds, and marched so fast, as to make it difficult for men with snow shoes to keep up with them.

On the 16th Mr. Pike held a council with the chiefs and warriors of this place, and of Red lake. It required patience, coolness, and some management, to attain what he had in view ; which was, that these Indians should make peace with the Sioux, and deliver up their medals and flags ; that some of their chiefs should accompany him to Saint Louis, and, that they, as a proof of their pacific disposition, should smoke out of the Wabashar's pipe, which lay before them, on the table. They all smoked, from the head chief to the youngest soldier ; and generally delivered up their medals and flags with a good grace ; the Flatmouth excepted, who said he had left both his at his camp, three days' march from this place. He, however, promised to deliver them to Mr. M'Gillis to be forwarded. The old Sweet thought it most proper to return to the Indians of Red lake, Red river, and Rainy Lake river. The Flatmouth also said, it was necessary for him to return to his young warriors. The other chiefs did not think themselves of consequence enough to offer any reason for not following Mr. Pike to St. Louis ; a journey of such extent, and through hostile tribes.

Mr. Pike then replied, " he was sorry to find that the hearts of the Sauteurs of this quarter were so weak. That the other nations would say, ' What, is there no soldiers at Leech, Red, and Rainy lakes, who have hearts to carry the calumet of their chief, to their father ? ' " This had the effect of rousing them. The Buck, and the Beau, two of the most celebrated young warriors, rose, and offered themselves for the employ. They were accepted as the children of Mr. Pike, whilst he was installed their father. The example of these two animated the rest, and it would not have been difficult to have raised a company among them. The Beau is brother to the Flatmouth. He then gave his young soldiers a dance, with a small dram ; they wanted more liquor, but a firm denial convinced them of the folly of the attempt. On the next day, the *chief of the land* brought in his flag and medal :—Preparations were made for the party to march. The Sweet was instructed how to send the ' Parole ' to the Indians of Red river. The soldiers then went through their manual exercise, and fired three blank rounds ; which not a little astonished the Indians.

On the morning of the 18th of February, the men were marched for Red Cedar lake ; Mr. Pike, and a guide which Mr. M'Gillis had provided for him, were to follow afterwards. They were all provided with snow shoes, and marched off pretty well, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the Indians, who had generally remained for the purpose of witnessing their departure.

Mr. Anderson arrived in the night, having concluded to go down the river to Mr. Dickson in company with Mr. Pike and his party. In the morning, Mr. Pike, Mr. L'Rone, and his two young Indians left the hospitable abode of Mr. M'Gillis. He had presented Mr. Pike with his dogs and

cabriole, here valued at one hundred dollars. They crossed Leech lake in a south-east direction, twenty-four miles. One of the dogs broke from his harness, and would not suffer them to catch him again on that day; the other had to draw the whole load, of at least seven hundred and fifty pounds, from lake to lake. On resuming their march the next day, the men set off three hours before Mr. Pike; but his sleigh dogs brought him up to them before one o'clock. They encamped at half after three, on the bank of Sandy lake, having travelled over lakes almost the whole distance. At the request of Mr. L'Rone, whom Mr. M'Gillis had sent as a guide, the Indians applied for leave for him to accompany the party; Mr. Pike consented to his continuing as far as Red Cedar lake: on this, he personally expressed his wish to desert from the service of the North-West company, and join the American party. Honour and gratitude forbade such an act on the part of Mr. Pike: the man was immediately sent back, and the party pursued their journey without a guide. Continuing through woods and bushes, they came to White Fish lake, which may be considered as the source of Pine river. The North-West company had once an establishment at this place, here being the nearly consumed remains of a stockade about fifty feet square. From this place Mr. Pike, accompanied by the young Indians, set out in advance of the party to Red Cedar lake. Owing to the badness of the road, the journey was a very fatiguing one. On arriving there, he found Mr. Grant and De Breche (chief of Sandy lake) at the house. From this place one of Mr. Grant's men was dispatched to meet the party, and carry a bag of rice to them. He met them encamped on the Mississippi; and on the 27th they arrived with a chief called the White Fisher, and seven Indians.

De Breche, in a serious conversation with Mr. Pike, informed him, that a string of wampum had been sent to the Chipeways, as he believed, from the British commanding officer at Saint Joseph.

On the 28th of February, the party left Red Cedar lake on their return to Saint Louis. The young Indians staid behind, under pretence of waiting for the chief De Breche, who had returned to Sandy lake for his flag and medals, and was to meet Mr. Pike at his winter station with Mr. Grant, about the 15th of the month following.

Early on the third of March they passed the place of their encampment on Christmas day. Almost immediately afterwards a smoke was discovered on the western shore by Mr. Pike, who was ahead of his party in his cabriole; he hallooed, and some Indians appeared on the bank; they proved to be Chipeways who had left Red Cedar lake on the same day the United States party did.

They presented Mr. Pike with some dried meat, which he gave to his sleigh dogs, left their camp, accompanied him down the river some distance, and encamped on the west side. At noon the party came to the place where they had buried a barrel of flour on the 21st of December, and found there a corporal and one of the men from the station. From these men they learnt that those who had been left behind were all well; that one of the sentinels had been fired on by a Sioux whom the serjeant had made drunk;—and, that this serjeant, contrary to particular instructions, had improperly, and without just cause, dissipated almost all the stores which were intended for the descending voyage. While the travelling party had fared hard, and almost perished with hunger; and by changing their route had left many very essential articles behind them on Sandy lake, under the expectation of replacing them at the station, it was highly mortifying to find their hopes so disappointed, through the misconduct of him in whose especial

charge they had been left. They took up the barrel of flour, and proceeded to the mouth of a little river which enters the Mississippi from the east. The next morning they, by a fire, thawed the ground where their two barrels were deposited on the 19th of December, and took them up.

They arrived at their station on the morning of the 5th of March, where they found all the men in good health. After noon they were visited by Mr. Dickson, accompanied by the Killien Rouge, his son, and two other Sioux men, and two women, who came to be introduced to the Sauteurs whom they expected had come with Mr. Pike from the head of the river.

While they were here, several Indian chiefs came in to see Mr. Pike. With them he held several conversations. Thomas, the Fols Avoine chief, gave assurances that he would interest himself in obliging the Paunts to deliver up the men who had committed recent murders on the Ouinsconsin and Rock rivers; and, if necessary, he would make it a national quarrel on the side of the Americans. This chief is of a noble and masculine figure, and an extraordinary hunter: as an instance of this it is related, that he killed forty elk and a bear in one day, chasing the former from the dawn till evening. He is animated in the delivery of his speeches. He appears very much attached to the Americans. He gave his pipe to be presented to the Sauteurs on their arrival with assurances of safety on their voyage, and his wish that they would descend the river. The Fils de Killien Rouge also gave his pipe, to be presented to the Sauter Indians on their arrival; "to make them smoke, and to assure them of his friendly disposition, and that he would wait to see them at Mr. Dickson's."

Thomas made a complaint against a Frenchman by the name of Greignon, who resided on Green Bay, who, he said, abused the Indians, and even beat them, without provocation. Mr. Pike promised to write to the Indian agent at Michlemackinack on the occasion.

In a long conversation with a 'Reynard,' he professed not to believe in an hereafter; but, that the world would be drowned at some future period; and a question with him was, how it was to be repeopled? Other Indians, however, of his nation, say he is singular in this opinion.

In an hunting excursion on the opposite side of the river to the station, Mr. Pike ascended a mountain which borders on the prairie. Here he found a stone on which the Indians sharpen their knives, and a war club half finished. From this elevated position, the eye wanders over vast prairies, with scarcely any other interruption than scattering clumps of trees, which, at a distance, have the appearance of mountains; in two or three of those the smoke is perceived curling in its ascent over their tops; it points out the habitation of the wandering savage, and often leads the blood-thirsty warrior to his defenceless prey.

The voyage of Mr. Pike suspended, for a time at least, this horrid warfare, through a vast extent of country. Peace followed his steps, from the prairie des Chiens to the lower Redriver! If a subaltern officer with twenty men, at such a distance from the seat of his government, can produce so great a change in the minds of savages, what may not be expected, when a great and independent power, instead of blowing the flames of discord, exerts its whole influence in the promotion of peace? Such are the reflections which Mr. Pike made on viewing the country below him, and the immediate effects which had flowed from the expedition entrusted to his care.

On returning to the station, he found the Fols Avoine chief, who had come with the intention of passing the night there. In a conversation he mentioned that near the conclusion of the revolutionary war his nation began to look upon him as a warrior. They received a 'parole' from the En-

glish at Michlemackinack ; on which he was dispatched with forty warriors. On his arrival, he was requested to lead them against the Americans. To this request he replied :—We have considered you and the Americans as one people. You are now at war ; how are we to know which has justice on their side ? Besides, you white people are, in number, like the leaves on the trees. Should I march, with my forty warriors to the field of battle, they, with their chief, will be swallowed up, as the big water embosoms the small rivulets which run into it. No ! I will return to my country, where my warriors may be of service against our red enemies, and their actions commemorated in the dance of our nation." Mr. Grant and the Chipeway chief not arriving at the station on the 15th, agreeably to their promise, Mr. Pike with his interpreter and one man, set out on a visit to Thomas, the Fols Avoine chief, who, with six other lodges of his nation, was encamped about twenty miles down the river. After passing a snowy night in the woods without any other covering than a blanket, they reached the place of destination on the following morning. The camp was situated in one of the finest sugar groves imaginable. They were received in a truly patriarchal style : the chief pulled off Mr. Pike's mocasins, assigned him the best place in the lodge, and offered dry cloaths. After being presented with the syrup of the maple to drink, the chief asked his guest which he preferred, beaver, swan, elk or deer, to eat. On giving preference to the first, a large kettle was filled by his wife ; and the soup being thickened with the flour which the visiting party carried with them, they had what was considered a delicious repast. Having taken this refreshment, they were asked by the chief, if they would visit his people at the other lodges : and, on signifying their assent, they went round the camp,—at each lodge of which they were presented with something to eat ; at one a bowl of sugar,—at another, the tail of a beaver :—generally, with what was esteemed a delicacy by their Indian friends. On returning to the lodge of the chief, they found a bed prepared for each of them, of good soft bear skins ; in addition to which Mr. Pike was furnished with a large feather pillow. An incident occurred here characteristic of the Indian hospitality : with the rigid moralist it will place the chief in the unfavourable light of an abandoned libertine ; but, the liberal mind will make allowance for the customs of society, and, perhaps, consider it as an extraordinary trait of generosity in this son of nature. In the course of the day, the chief had observed a ring on the finger of Mr. Pike : he enquired if it was gold : he was told it was, and the gift of a lady with whom the wearer would feel happy to be at that time. He appeared absorbed in thought ; and at night said to the interpreter, that "perhaps his father (a name by which the Indians designated Mr. Pike) felt much grieved, from the want of a woman : if it was so, he would furnish him with one." The interpreter informed him that the Americans had each but one wife, to whom they considered it a duty to be faithful. "He thought it strange, as he had three : besides, he knew some Americans at his nation, who had five or six wives during the course of the winter." On the interpreter observing that these were men without character ; that all the great men had but one, the chief seemed satisfied, but said "he liked better to have as many as he pleased." This conversation passed between the Indian and interpreter without any appeal to Mr. Pike, whose sentiments on the subject the interpreter knew : it also saved him from the refusal of what it was evident the chief considered as the greatest favour he could bestow.

The next morning Mr. Pike purchased two baskets of sugar ; and, after breakfasting on a swan, departed for the station on the river. The eagles, ravens, and the beasts of prey, had devoured a deer and two geese, which

were killed on their march to the Indian lodges, and which they expected to take with them on their return.

On the 21st, a Fols Avoine chief, called Shawonoe, and six young men paid a visit to Mr. Pike, and informed him that a camp of Sauteurs were on the river, waiting for their chiefs to come down.

Agreeably to promise, Mr. Pike, with his interpreter and one man, paid a visit to the old chief Shawonoe. They reached his camp in about two hours; and in their road met with a Fols Avoine chief, called Chien Blanche, who visited the station previous to the expedition from it to the head of the river. At the lodge of Shawonoe they were received with the usual Indian hospitality: yet very different from the polite reception they met with from Thomas. Charlevoix and others have noticed the beauty of this nation; as it respects the males in particular, they are correct. They are all straight, well made men, about the middle size, with an expression of countenance that inspires confidence and charms at first sight:—their complexions are fair, (for Indians) their teeth good, their eyes large, and rather languishing,—in short, they would pass for handsome men, among those who are thought to be so. Forming his ideas of Indian women from those generally met with, Mr. Pike had not credited what travellers had said respecting the females of this nation; in this lodge, however, were five that deserved the appellation of handsome women, when he arrived. In the evening there came in a couple, whom the interpreter said were considered the handsomest in the nation. The man was about five feet eleven inches high, with all that pleasantness of countenance, which distinguishes the people of this nation. His companion, in her twenty-second year, had dark brown eyes, jet hair, with an elegant neck. Her figure was genteel, and without that inclination to corpulency which the women generally have after they are married. The man appeared to attach himself particularly to Mr. Pike, whom he informed, that his wife was the daughter of an American who passed through the nation some years before, and spent a week or two in it. Having some biscuits with him, Mr. Pike presented them to her as his countrywoman: this created a laugh among the others, and she was called the Bostonian, during his stay.

These Indians are close in their dealings. For a little bear's oil, they charged at the rate of a dollar the gallon; and even at this price wanted to adulterate it by the admixture of a portion of tallow. They asked ten dollars for a bear skin; it was a very fine one; indeed, it is said that the traders sometimes give as high as sixteen dollars for the very best. These skins are infinitely superior here, to what are procured on the lower Mississippi.

In the evening they were entertained with the Calumet and dog dances; as also the dance of the ———. Some of them struck the post, and told their war exploits; but they spoke in the *Menomene* tongue, which the interpreter did not understand. After the dance, followed the feast of the dead, as it is called; at which, each two or three are served with a vessel full of meat. When all were ready the old chief delivered a prayer; after which the eating begins, and it is expected that every portion will be eaten entirely up, care being taken not to drop even a bone. What is left is carefully gathered together, and put in the dish. The eating being over, they were treated with soup: this was followed by a prayer, or exhortation from the chief, which finished the ceremony. They are careful in gathering up the remains of this feast, which they throw into the water, lest the dogs, which are kept in great numbers, should get them. Burning these fragments is viewed in an equally sacrilegious light with giving them to the dogs.

Mr. Pike, in his dog-sled, arrived at the station in the forenoon of the next day : after noon, Mr. Grant arrived with De Breche and some of his young men ; but the young warriors of Leech lake had returned to their homes. The Fols Avoine chiefs were informed of this circumstance : and both Thomas, and the old Shawonoe, the one accompanied by seven, and the other by six of their men, came to the station on the 26th. In the evening they danced until ten o'clock. The old Shawonoe, and the White Dog of the Fols Avoine, told their exploits, which however were unintelligible to the interpreter. When De Breche arose, he said, "I once killed a Sioux, and cut off his head with such a spear as I now present to this Winebago," presenting one at the same time to a Winebago present, and with whom the Chipeways were then at war. This was considered as a great honour by the latter. The next morning the Chipeway chief made a speech, and presented his pipe to Mr. Pike, to be by him borne to the Sioux—seven strings of wampum were attached to it, showing his authority to be from seven bands of the Chipeways, to conclude a peace, or make war. He had chosen the former, and with his pipe requested that they might be informed that "he, and his people would encamp at the mouth of the river de Corbeau, the ensuing summer, where they would see the United States flag flying." As a proof of his pacific disposition the Fols Avoine chief then rose and said, "My nation is rendered small by its enemies ; only a remnant is left :—but we can boast of not having been slaves. For, in preference to having our women and children taken, we have killed them. Since our father (meaning Mr. Pike) has travelled so far, and taken such pains to prevent the Sioux and Chipeways from killing each other, it would be ungenerous in us not to listen to his words. I will report to the Sioux the pacifick propositions of the Sauteurs, and hope the peace will be firm and lasting." Mr. Pike then informed the Fols Avoine chief, that he would report his words to the Sauteurs, and should feel thankful to the two nations for having laid aside the tomahawk at his request. He thanked the Fols Avoine for his good wishes and the 'Parole' he had given to the Sauteurs. This done, each chief was presented with a kettle of liquor to drink the others' healths in ; and the flag, which had been presented to De Breche, was displayed in the station. The Fols Avoine then departed ; a circumstance not unpleasant to Mr. Pike, who had to find provision for them all ; and they had already consumed what dried meat was laid in for his descending voyage. He was apprehensive, lest his hunters should not be able to furnish another supply.

In the afternoon of the 28th, Mr. Grant and the Sauteurs took their departure, and were accompanied by Mr. Pike as far as the lodge of the Shawonoe, where they (ten in number) staid during the night. Here the Fols Avoine and the Sauteurs had a dance, and feasted on elk, sugar and syrup. Before their departure Mr. Pike demanded the medal and flag of the chief ; the former he delivered, but with a bad grace, and said the flag were in the land, when he left Lake de Sable.

They had thunder and lightning this evening.

In the morning they parted ; Mr. Grant and his party for Sandy lake,—and Mr. Pike and his, to his hunting camp ; from which he was summoned to the station by a letter from Mr. Dickson. The person who brought the letter stated that a Sioux had arrived with Mr. Dickson's man. He took a man with him, and reached the station after midnight ; having travelled along the ice covered by nearly a foot of water, and through a tempest of lightning and rain. The Sioux finding the Sauteurs had left the station, returned immediately.

As the ice was beginning to break, all their attention was directed to getting their boats in order, and hunting for a supply of provisions. They caulked the seams of their boats, and payed them with the tallow of their candles. The young Shawonoe arrived from above with their canoes and about one thousand pounds of furs, which he deposited in the station. The Fols Avoine chief, called the old Shawonoe, came and encamped near the station, and informed Mr. Pike that his nation had determined to send his son to Saint Louis in his place, and in whose favour he declined the voyage.

Having got every thing on board their boats, on the evening before, the party embarked at seven o'clock, on the morning of the 7th of April, in high spirits. They passed the grand rapids, and reached Mr. Dickson's before the sun set, where they were saluted with three rounds. The following day was spent in making a chart of the St. Peter's river, &c. and in settling the affairs of the Indian department with Mr. Dickson; to whom Mr. Pike confesses himself greatly indebted for his communications. They left Mr. Dickson and Mr. de Paulire in the morning, and in the afternoon arrived at Mr. Paulire's house, where they were received with great politeness by his brother (to whom Mr. Pike had a letter) and a Mr. Vean, who wintered near him.

Thus had Mr. Pike been the harbinger of peace to the inhabitants on this river. The traders followed him and wintered in safety, giving articles of comfort to the Indians in exchange for the produce of their hunting excursions.

After leaving this house they discovered a bark canoe about three hundred yards ahead, which they lost sight of suddenly on turning a point of land, without being able to discover it again when they reached the same part of the river. This excited their attention; Mr. Pike stood up in his barge, and at last perceived it turned up in the grass of the prairie. After passing the place about a gun shot, the Indians made their appearance from under her, and launched their canoe into the river. They then came on, and when the party halted for the night at a vacant trading house, they halted likewise, addressing Mr. Pike with '*Say go commandant*,' or your servant, captain. When the motive for their concealing themselves was demanded, they replied—their canoe leaked, and they had turned her up to discharge the water. This could not be believed, and as their conduct was suspicious, they were received rather coolly: however, each of them had a piece of bread and a small dram given to them. They then re-embarked and continued down the river.

The conduct of these men reminded Mr. Pike of a visit made by the Fils de Pinechon to Mr. Dickson during the winter, the principal cause of which was, to give Mr. Pike notice that the seven Indians who had been met at the falls of Saint Anthony, when the party ascended the river, had since declared that they would kill *him*, for agreeing to a peace between the Sioux and Sauteurs; *Mr. Pike* for being the means of preventing them from taking revenge for relatives killed in August 1805, by the Sauteurs; and *Thomas*, the Fols Avoine chief, for the support which he seemed disposed to afford. This information had not received the attention it merited as coming from the first chief of the village; but the conduct of these Indians put the party on their guard.

This day there was an appearance of returning vegetation, although in some places the snow remained a foot in depth.

They reached the falls of St. Anthony on the morning of the 10th, and got all their baggage and their canoes across the portage before night. These falls had a much more tremendous appearance now than when the party ascended the river. The ice continued floating in the river all day.

The next day the large boats were got over the portage, and the party descended to an island at the mouth of the St. Peter's river.

Mr. Pike went to the chiefs, and informed them that he had something to communicate. The Fils de Penechon said he would provide a place; and accordingly a council was assembled at the setting of the sun, and Mr. Pike was sent for to attend. Here he found a great many chiefs of the Assusitones, Gens de Feuille, and the Gens de Lac: they were waiting for the Yanktons; in all about one hundred lodges. As the party crossed the river, they were saluted, in the usual manner, with a discharge of ball. The council house consisted of two large lodges, capable of containing 300 men. In the upper lodge were forty chiefs, and as many pipes set against the poles; along with which, Mr. Pike had the pipes of the Sauteurs arranged. He then informed them, in a short speech, of all that had occurred between him and these people. Finding it difficult to make himself understood through the medium of his interpreter, he was content with stating to them his wish that some of their chiefs should go to St. Louis; and to such as chose to go to the Prairie des Chiens, he would there explain himself more fully. They then all smoked out of the Sauteurs pipes but three, who were painted black, were of those who had lost their relations last summer. When he departed, he invited the Fils de Pinechon, and the son of the Killein Rouge to cross the river and sup with him; where, with Mr. Duncan, he endeavoured to explain what he was unable to do in the council; and stated to them, that at the prairie he would give his ideas fully to the chiefs, and hoped to be able to make a more favourable report than captain Lewis had done, of their treatment to him. The former of these chiefs was the son of him who had remained all winter near the station, and had treated the men left there well. They endeavoured to excuse their people from the charges made against them.

After leaving the river St. Peter's, they endeavoured to find the cave which Carver mentions, but in vain. The interpreter, who had been many times up the Mississippi, knew nothing of it.

As they were passing some lodges of Indians, a few miles below the St. Peter's, Mr. Pike received a particular invitation to go on shore, where he was kindly received, presented with sugar, &c. A dram was given in return; and when the party were departing, the owner of the lodge they had been in, demanded a kettle of liquor. On being refused, when the party left the shore, the Indian called out, and said, he did not like the arrangements which had been made, and would go to war in the summer. The interpreter was told to inform him, that if Mr. Pike returned to St. Peter's with the troops, he would then settle that affair with him.

On arriving at the St. Croix, they found the Petit Corbeau with his people, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Woods. In a conference which they had, the Petit Corbeau made many apologies for the disorderly conduct of his people. He said that his young warriors wanted to go to war, and that he had been much blamed for dismissing his party last fall; but, that he was determined to adhere, as far as he could, to Mr. Pike's wishes, and thought it best to remain where he was, and endeavoured to restrain the warriors. He presented his beaver robe and pipe, with a message to the general, that he was determined to preserve peace, and make the road clear; also, as a remembrance of his promised medal. To this a reply was made calculated to confirm him in his good intentions; and assuring him, that although not present, he would not be less remembered by his father than those that were.

Here Mr. Pike learned that Mordock Cameron, contrary to the directions of his licence, sold liquor to the Indians, on the river St. Peter's; also, that his partner was acting with equal imprudence below. They were by this conduct the cause of much disorder, and great injury to the traders.

The trees were there beginning to put forth their buds, and there was a very perceptible difference in climate between this place and the falls of St. Anthony.

Accompanied by Messrs. Frazer and Woods, they came to a band of the Aile Rouge, about two o'clock. Here they received the usual salute, and held a council, where the chief expressed more detestation than any other had done, at the conduct of those Indians which had been met with near the mouth of St. Peter's. He gave assurances, in very unequivocal terms, that he who fired on the centinel, and those who threatened to kill Mr. Pike should, if he thought proper, be killed. He said there were many chiefs above with whom he wished to speak, and hoped Mr. Pike would remain one day, when all the Sioux would be down, and he should have the command of 1000 men. But, perhaps, he would not think it an honour, although the British had flattered his nation by being proud to have them for soldiers. To this a general reply was made in which he was informed, that the bad conduct of two or three individuals would not obliterate the sense entertained of the good treatment which the party had received from the Sioux nation. That, in a general council, Mr. Pike would more fully explain himself. As for the man who fired on the centinel, had he been at the station, the Sioux should never more have been troubled with him, for he should have been killed on the spot. His young men did not do so, least they should give offence to their commander. Remaining a day with them would be of no service, and he was anxious to be with the general below, who expected him: the state of his provisions also demanded the utmost expedition, as his men must eat. The chief replied, that as the lake Pepin was yet closed, if the party proceeded and encamped on the ice, it would not supply them with provision. He would send out all his young men the next day, and if the other bands did not then arrive, he would go with the party on the day following. Mr. Pike finally agreed to spend one day here, which gave great satisfaction to the Indians. He was invited to different feasts; at one of which he was entertained by an Indian whose father was created a chief by the Spaniards. Here he saw a man, whom the French call 'Roman Nose,' and the Indians 'the Wind that walks,' who was formerly the second chief of the Sioux; but being the cause of a trader's death about seven years ago, he voluntarily resigned his dignity, and has frequently requested to be given up to the whites. He was now determined to go to St. Louis and deliver himself up for execution. His long and sincere repentance, and the great confidence the nation places in him, will, no doubt, be considered as sufficient reasons for pardoning the offence. This opinion, however, Mr. Pike kept from his knowledge.

Here Mr. Pike received a letter from Rollet, the partner of Mr. Cameron, with a present of some brandy, coffee and sugar. Being the partner of the person whom it became Mr. Pike's duty to prosecute for an infraction of the laws of the United States respecting the trade with the Indians, payment was offered for the articles, though of trifling value. Two of the men, who were sent to put down some fishing lines, overset the canoe, and would have been drowned but for the exertions of the Indians, who rescued them, carried them into their lodges, undressed, and treated them with great humanity and kindness. At this place, Mr. Pike learned that the savage who had threatened to take his life, had actually cocked his gun for the purpose of shooting him from behind the hills, but was prevented by the others. The Indians not arriving on the day they were expected, Mr. Pike, with Messrs. Woods and Frazer, ascended a high hill called the Barn, from which they had a view of lake Pepin, the valley of the Mississippi, the Cannon river and the hills between which it flows.

Early on the morning of the 15th Mr. Pike embarked, much to the aston-

ishment of the Indians, who were then fully prepared for the council. After some conversation with Mr. Frazer, who remained later, they acknowledged it was according to a previous decision, and he was not blameable for so doing. Indeed experience had taught the advantage of a rigid regard to truth in all intercourse with the Indians. Although the Aile Rouge had a beaver cloak and pipe prepared, he had, for the present, to retain it. About nine leagues below lake Pepin, they passed some hills which have the appearance of fortifications.

They arrived at the prairie des Chiens on the 18th April, where Mr. Pike took up his quarters with Mr. Fisher. His men received a present of a barrel of pork from Mr. Campbell, and about twenty loaves of bread and some meat from Mr. Fisher.

Here were a number of chiefs, Reynards, Sioux de Moine, &c. also some Winebagoes, who had brought with them the murderers of some white men, in order to deliver them up to Mr. Pike. The next day six canoes arrived from the upper part of the St. Peter's river, with the Yankton chiefs from the upper part of that river. The appearance of these Indians was more savage than that of any other they had met with. Notice was given to the Puants, that Mr. Pike had business to do with them the day following. A band of the Gens de Lac also arrived.

A council was held here with the chiefs of the Paunch Indians, and those of the nation who had recently committed some murders were demanded. They requested until the day following (the 21st) to determine on the conduct proper for them to pursue.

In the afternoon a great game at cross was played on the prairie, between the Sioux on one side, and the Reynards on the other. It is played with a ball made of some hard substance covered with leather, and cross sticks, which have a round part covered with net work and a handle three feet in length. The parties being ready, and the betts made, sometimes to the amount of many thousand dollars, the goals are set up on the prairie, at the distance of half a mile. The ball is then thrown up in the middle; when each party endeavours to drive it to the opposite goal, and round the post which is there fixed. The ball is then, again carried to the middle, and the contest repeated, until one of the parties wins four times, which determines the game. It is an interesting sight, to thus behold two or three hundred naked savages contending on the plain. The one who drives the ball round the pole is highly applauded by his companions. Sometimes he who catches the ball in his racket, depending on his swiftness in running, endeavours to carry it to the goal; and, if he finds himself to closely pursued, hurls it forward with all his strength, to an astonishing distance, where both sides have their flanking parties, ready to receive it. They often keep the ball passing in the air for hours before the victory declares for either party. In the game played here, the Sioux were the victors, more from their skill and dexterity in throwing the ball, than their swiftness of foot.

Mr. Pike made a demand in writing of the magistrates to take depositions respecting the murders recently committed, and had a private conference with Wabasha.

On the 21st he was sent for by the chief le Feuille, who stated the jealousy with which his nation generally regarded their chief. Although it might get him the displeasure of some of the Sioux, he had no hesitation in saying, that the *Nez Corbeau* was the most sensible man among them; in which light he believed him to be generally viewed. After this interview he was sent for by the 'Red Thunder', chief of the Yanktons, the most savage band of the Sioux: This chief was found prepared with the most elegant pipes and robes. He declared that 'White blood had never been shed in the village of the Yanktons, even when rum was permitted. That Mor-

dock Cameron arrived at his village in the preceding autumn, when he invited him to eat.—He gave him corn, as a bird. That Cameron informed him of the prohibition of liquor, but was afterwards the only person who sold it in the village.' After holding another council with the Puants, Mr Pike spent the evening with Mr. Wilmot, one of the well informed gentlemen of this place.

On the 22d another council was held with the Sioux and Puants, when the latter gave up their medals and flags.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Communicating information of the effect of gun-boats in the protection and defence of harbours ; of the numbers thought necessary ; and of the proposed distribution of them among the ports and harbours of the United States : in compliance with a resolution of the house of representatives of the 5th Feb. 1807.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

IN compliance with the request of the house of representatives expressed in their resolution of the 5th instant, I proceed to give such information, as is possessed, of the effect of the gun boats in the protection and defence of harbours, of the numbers thought necessary, and of the proposed distribution of them among the ports and harbours of the United States.

Under present circumstances, and governed by the intentions of the legislature, as manifested by their annual appropriations of money for the purposes of defence, it has been concluded to combine, 1st, land batteries, furnished with heavy cannon and mortars, and established on all the points around the place favourable for preventing vessels from lying before it ; 2d, moveable artillery, which may be carried, as occasion may require, to points unprovided with fixed batteries ; 3d, floating batteries ; and 4th, gun boats, which may oppose an enemy at his entrance, and co-operate with the batteries for his expulsion.

On this subject professional men were consulted as far as we had opportunity. General Wilkinson, and the late General Gates, gave their opinions in writing, in favour of the system, as will be seen by their letters now communicated. The higher officers of the navy gave the same opinions, in separate conferences, as their presence at the seat of government offered occasions of consulting them, and no difference of opinion appeared on the subject. Those of commodore Barron and captain Tingey, now here, are recently furnished in writing, and transmitted herewith to the legislature.

The efficacy of gun boats for the defence of harbours, and of other smooth and inclosed waters, may be estimated, in part, from that of gallies, formerly much used, but less powerful, more costly in their construction and maintenance, and requiring more men. But the gun boat itself is believed to be in use with every modern maritime nation, for the purposes of defence. In the Mediterranean on which are several small powers, whose system, like ours, is peace and defence, few harbours are without this article of protection. Our own experience there of the effect of gun boats, for harbour service, is recent. Algiers is particularly known to have owed, to a great provision of these vessels, the safety of its city, since the epoch of their con-

struction. Before that, it had been repeatedly insulted and injured. The effect of gun boats, at present, in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, is well known, and how much they were used, both in the attack and defence of that place, during a former war. The extensive resort to them, by the two greatest naval powers in the world, on an enterprize of invasion not long since in prospect, shews their confidence in their efficacy, for the purposes for which they are suited. By the northern powers of Europe, whose seas are particularly adapted to them, they are still more used. The remarkable action, between the Russian flotilla of gun boats and gallees, and a Turkish fleet of ships of the line and frigates, in the Liman sea (in 1788), will be readily recollected. The latter, commanded by their most celebrated admiral, were completely defeated, and several of their ships of the line destroyed.

From the opinions given, as to the number of gun boats necessary for some of the principal seaports, and from a view of all the towns and ports from New Orleans to Maine inclusive, entitled to protection, in proportion to their situation and circumstances, it is concluded that, to give them a due measure of protection in times of war, about two hundred gun boats will be requisite. According to first ideas, the following would be their general distribution; liable to be varied, on more mature examination, and as circumstances shall vary; that is to say,

To the Mississippi and its neighbouring waters, forty gun boats.

To Savannah and Charleston, and the harbours on each side, from St. Mary's to Curratuck, twenty-five.

To the Chesapeake, and its waters, twenty.

To Delaware bay and river, fifteen.

To New-York, the Sound, and waters as far as Cape Cod, fifty.

The flotillas assigned to these several stations might each be under the care of a particular commandant, and the vessels composing them would, in ordinary, be distributed among the harbours within the station, in proportion to their importance.

Of these boats, a proper proportion would be of the larger size, such as those heretofore built, capable of navigating any seas, and of reinforcing occasionally the strength even of the most distant ports, when menaced with danger. The residue would be confined to their own, or the neighbouring harbours, would be smaller, less furnished for accommodation, and consequently less costly. Of the number supposed necessary, seventy-three are built or building, and the hundred and twenty-seven still to be provided, would cost from 5 to 600,000 dollars. Having regard to the convenience of the treasury, as well as to the resources for building, it has been thought that the one half of these might be built in the present year, and the other half the next. With the legislature, however, it will rest to stop where we are, or at any further point, when they shall be of opinion that the number provided shall be sufficient for the object.

At times, when Europe, as well as the United States, shall be at peace, it would not be proposed that more than six or eight of these vessels should be kept afloat. When Europe is in war, treble that number might be necessary, to be distributed among those particular harbours, which foreign vessels of war are in the habit of frequenting, for the purpose of preserving order therein. But they would be manned in ordinary, with only their complement for navigation, relying on the seamen and militia of the port, if called into action, on any sudden emergency. It would be only when the United States should themselves be at war, that the whole number would be brought into active service, and would be ready, in the first moments of the war, to co-operate, with other means, for covering at once the line of our seaports. At all times, those unemployed would be withdrawn into places not exposed to sudden enterprise, hauled up under sheds covered from the sun and

weather, and kept in preservation with little expense for repairs and maintenance.

It must be superfluous to observe, that this species of naval armament is proposed merely for defensive operations ; that it can have but little effect towards protecting our commerce in the open seas, even on our own coast ; and still less can it become an excitement to engage in offensive maritime war, towards which it would furnish no means.

TH : JEFFERSON.

February 10, 1807.

Extract of a letter from Gen. Horatio Gates to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. dated October 19, 1804.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am charmed with your instituting gun-boats, for I believe them to be the properest defence for large harbours that has been hitherto imagined ; these co-operating with small batteries of heavy guns upon the projecting heights near the water, are much better, and infinitely less expensive, than fixed and large fortifications. The French, who are the best judges of artillery and engineering of any nation in Europe, adopt this plan of defending their harbours : the effects of it are too well known in England. I know not if you have seen a publication which appeared in Paris in May 1802, entitled *Lettres d'un Observateur sur la Marine*, it is well worth your perusal ; much useful information may be derived from it for the defence of our harbours and our astonishingly increasing commerce ; a paltry frigate dare not then insult us, as has been and now is done in the harbour of New-York."

A letter from Gen. James Wilkinson to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, dated Washington, November 10, 1804.

SIR,

I regret that a variety of interruptions and engagements should have so long prevented my attention to the subject you did me the honour to mention to me.

On turning it in my mind, the idea occurred to me that your proposition could not be better ascertained than by an examination of the system of defence heretofore adopted for our towns and harbours, and a comparative view of its merits, with those of the plan which you recommend. I have yielded to this suggestion, and shall be happy if the manner or matter of the inclosed reflections should meet your approbation, as they are for you and at your disposal only.

You will also find under cover an extract from the reflections of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, an author of great respectability, who wrote early in the last century, from which you will perceive galleys, in other words gun-boats, have been long held in high estimation.

I have only to add, sir, that these observations were committed to paper on the day of their date, and that I have not been able to have them copied sooner, so inadequate are my means to my duties.

With great consideration and respect, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

[NOTE.—This letter was only the cover of Gen. Wilkinson's opinion, and therefore shews only in general terms what that was. The opinion itself was on a former occasion communicated to a committee of the house of representatives, and was read to the house for their information.]

A letter from Commodore S. Barron to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, dated Washington, February 8, 1807.

SIR,

In consequence of a conversation I had the honour to hold with you yesterday, on the subject of gun-boats, I venture to state my reasons for suppo-

sing them the proper kind of vessels to afford the most effectual means of defence and annoyance within the bays and rivers of the United States.

The small draft of water enables them to take such positions, as to attack, in a measure with impunity, vessels of any size, and are enabled to approach or retire, as may best suit to discomfit the enemy and protect themselves.

My residence having been always near the Chesapeake, enables me to remark more particularly on the effect of gun-boats opposed to ships within the capes of Virginia.

The middle ground, the Horse Shoe, and Willoughby's Point, are proper positions for gun-boats to take to repel attempts to enter the bay and James river. York spit affords the same advantage in preventing an entry into that river, and near each river is a flat which affords a safe position to annoy, without fearing the near approach of large ships. Ten or twelve of these boats would probably be sufficient to compel to remove from her position a frigate, and so on in proportion to the size and number of the enemies ships. To do more than annoy would be difficult. With those vessels a great number and a long time would be necessary to capture a ship of war; but few commanders would feel secure while open to the attack of an enemy, which, however inferior, he could not destroy. An attempt to board might be better opposed by small arms, cutlasses, &c. and in case of the necessity of retreat, the small rivers adjacent, &c. would be found of easy access to the boats, and inaccessible to the enemy. I do suppose that twenty gun-boats stationed in Hampton roads and its vicinity, would be sufficient to repel any predatory attack in that quarter, and be very formidable to a larger force. It is impossible for me to enlarge on this subject, being incapable of estimating the force which might be brought in opposition to this mode of defence. I can recollect perfectly the manner and by what means 2 small boats belonging to the state of Virginia, during the revolutionary war, often intercepted, almost under the guns of large ships, the supplies which were frequently attempted to be afforded them. This was done by means of a light draught of water, and good sailing. They were, however, deficient of heavy cannon. The gun-boats building under my direction are so constructed, as to sail fast and to mount one heavy cannon, and can, if necessary, mount some smaller guns in the waist, so that they can be used in attack on privateers or ships of war, and are competent to an employment (during summer) on the sea-coast, where the inlets will generally admit them in case of tempestuous weather, or the necessity of retreat from a superior force.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,
(Signed) SAMUEL BARRON.

The efficacy of gun-boats in the defence of coasts, ports, and harbours, must be obvious to every person capable of reflection; when it is considered with what celerity they can generally change their position and mode of attack, extending it widely to as many different directions as their number consists of, or concentrating nearly to one line of direction. It hardly need be observed, that the very small object which a gun-boat presents to the attacking enemy, causes it always problematical whether it may be hit by the most expert and experienced marksmen, while on the other hand the enemy attacking is generally with large ships, mostly of the line of battle, and which from their magnitude may be struck by almost every shot. The advantages of gun-boats for the defence contemplated are numerous; they cannot easily be surrounded, be the force of the enemy what it may; consequently very few, if any, are likely to fall into the enemy's hands. Their capability of retiring into shoal water, thereby keeping the adversary at long gunshot distance, where nought but a charge of single round shot will reach, in which they will almost always have the advantage, or taking their station

behind shoals, where they cannot be pursued by the smallest class of frigates, or even of sloops of war. And in many cases they may have opportunity of annoying an enemy when sheltered themselves by low points of land, where nought but their masts can be seen; of course in a situation comparatively safe, when that of the enemy is considered.

Such indeed is believed to be the great utility of gun-boats for defence, that notwithstanding the gigantick power of the British navy, in its present state, a judicious writer in the British Naval Chronicle, after advising a plan for raising a fleet of 150 or 200 gun-boats to assist in repelling the threatened invasion of that country, says, "A gun-boat has this advantage over a battery on shore, that it can be removed at pleasure from place to place, as occasion may require, and a few such vessels, carrying heavy guns, would make prodigious havock among the enemy's flat-bottomed boats, crowded with soldiers."—Respecting those particular ports and harbours in the United States, which may be defended, or essentially assisted in being defended by gun-boats, it is believed they would essentially assist in the defence of all the principal ports in our country. For the only place where gun-boats could be of no avail, must be such a one where the enemy under sail could advance, uninterrupted by shoals, rocks, or narrow channels, to the immediate point of attack within pistol-shot of the shore.

The above cursory observations are respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

THOMAS TINGEY.

Navy-Yard, Washington, Feb. 9, 1807.



By THOMAS JEFFERSON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

DURING the wars which, for some time, have unhappily prevailed among the powers of Europe, the United States of America, firm in their principles of peace, have endeavoured by justice, by a regular discharge of all their national and social duties, and by every friendly office their situation has admitted, to maintain with all the belligerents, their accustomed relations of friendship, hospitality, and commercial intercourse. Taking no part in the questions which animate these powers against each other, nor permitting themselves to entertain a wish but for the restoration of general peace, they have observed with good faith the neutrality they assumed, and they believe that no instance of a departure from its duties can be justly imputed to them by any nation. A free use of their harbours and waters, the means of refitting and refreshment, of succour to their sick and suffering, have, at all times, and on equal principles, been extended to all, and this too amidst a constant recurrence of acts of insubordination to the laws, of violence to the persons, and of trespasses on the property of our citizens, committed by officers of one of the belligerent parties received among us. In truth these abuses of the laws of hospitality have, with few exceptions, become habitual to the commanders of the British armed vessels hovering on our coasts, and frequenting our harbours. They have been the subject of repeated representations to their government. Assurances have been given that proper orders should restrain them within the limit of the rights and of the respect due to a friendly nation; but those orders and assurances have been without effect; no instance of punishment for past wrongs has taken place. At length a deed, transcending all we have hitherto seen or suffered, brings the publick sensibility to a serious crisis, and our forbearance to a necessary pause. A frigate of the United States, trusting to a

state of peace, and leaving her harbour on a distant service, has been surprised and attacked by a British vessel of superiour force, one of a squadron then lying in our waters and covering the transaction, and has been disabled from service, with the loss of a number of men killed and wounded.

This enormity was not only without provocation or justifiable cause, but was committed with the avowed purpose of taking by force, from a ship of war of the United States, a part of her crew; and that no circumstance might be wanting to mark its character, it had been previously ascertained that the seamen demanded were native citizens of the United States. Having effected his purpose, he returned to anchor with his squadron within our jurisdiction. Hospitality, under such circumstances, ceases to be a duty: and a continuance of it, with such uncontrolled abuses, would tend only, by multiplying injuries and irritations, to bring on a rupture between the two nations. This extreme resort is equally opposed to the interests of both, as it is to assurances of the most friendly dispositions on the part of the British government, in the midst of which this outrage has been committed. In this light the subject cannot but present itself to that government, and strengthen the motives to an honourable reparation of the wrong which has been done, and to that effectual control of its naval commanders, which alone can justify the government of the United States in the exercise of those hospitalities it is now constrained to discontinue.

In consideration of these circumstances, and of the right of every nation to regulate its own police, to provide for its peace and for the safety of its citizens, and consequently to refuse the admission of armed vessels into its harbours or waters, either in such numbers or of such descriptions as are inconsistent with these, or with the maintenance of the authority of the laws, I have thought proper in pursuance of the authorities specially given by law to issue this my **PROCLAMATION**, hereby requiring all armed vessels bearing commissions under the government of Great-Britain, now within the harbours or waters of the United States, immediately and without any delay to depart from the same, and interdicting the entrance of all the said harbours and waters to the said armed vessels, and to all others bearing commissions under the authority of the British government.

And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid, or if they or any others, so interdicted, shall hereafter enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do in that case forbid all intercourse with them or any of them, their officers or crews, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished to them or any of them.

And I do declare and make known, that if any person from, or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States shall afford any aid to any such vessel, contrary to the prohibition contained in the Proclamation, either in repairing any such vessel, or in furnishing her, her officers or crew, with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed vessels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them in the first instance beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, or unless it be in the case of a vessel forced by distress, or charged with public dispatches as hereinafter provided for, such person or persons shall on conviction, suffer all the pains and penalties by the laws provided for such offences.

And I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office civil or military within or under the authority of the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this Proclamation, and every part thereof into full effect.

Provided nevertheless that if any such vessel shall be forced into the harbours or waters of the United States by distress, by the dangers of the sea, or by the pursuit of an enemy, or shall enter them charged with dispatches or business from their government, or shall be a publick packet for the conveyance of letters and dispatches, the commanding officer immediately reporting his vessel to the collector of the district, stating the object or causes of entering the said harbours or waters, and conforming himself to the regulations in that case prescribed under the authority of the laws, shall be allowed the benefit of such regulations respecting repairs, supplies, stay, intercourse and departure as shall be permitted under the same authority.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same.

Given at the city of Washington the second day of July in the year of [L.S.] our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirty-first.

TH: JEFFERSON.

By the President,

JAMES MADISON, *Secretary of State.*

DOCUMENTS

*Accompanying a Message from the President of the United States,
December 2, 1806.*

(COPY.)

Natchitoches, August 5, 1806.

SIR,

IT has been reported to me for several days past, that a large body of the troops of the king of Spain had assembled near the Sabine, and were about to cross that river, and I am just informed that this body has crossed the said river and taken post within the territory of the United States. It has therefore become my duty to address you on this subject—To demand an explicit avowal of the object of this movement—To insist on this body of troops being immediately withdrawn; and to warn you of the consequences which may result from its continuance within the territory of the United States.

It is well known, that the government of the United States and the king of Spain are at this moment negotiating on the subject of the boundaries of Louisiana; and there cannot be a doubt, but an amicable adjustment of existing differences will soon take place.

The reinforcements which have lately reached this post are only intended as a security to the territory actually surrendered to us, and which we consider as extending to the Sabine. There is no disposition on the part of the United States to commit hostilities on the troops or possessions of Spain: But we cannot suffer aggressions on our territory; and should you persist in making them, you will be justly chargeable with all the consequences which such conduct is calculated to produce. I have only to add, that, if you should think proper to remove the Spanish troops to the west side of the Sabine and continue them there, no attempt will be made on the part of the United States to interrupt that friendship and harmony which ought to subsist between neighbouring nations: But, if you should attempt to continue these troops within the territory of the United States, after this explicit and

friendly warning, it will be my duty to consider you as an invader of our territory, and to act accordingly.

This letter will be handed to you by major Moses Porter, of the artillery of the United States, who will wait a reasonable time for your reply, which, if convenient, I hope may be accompanied by an English or French translation, to enable me to ascertain its contents with greater certainty. The major will be attended by one non-commissioned officer, and one private soldier of the army of the United States.

I avail myself of this opportunity of tendering my best wishes for your health, happiness, and honour, and am, sir,

With respectful consideration,

Your obedient servant,

T. H. CUSHING,

Colonel, commanding a detachment of the army of the United States.

To Colonel ERRARA,—Or officer commanding the troops of the king of Spain on the east side of the Sabine.

Plantation of Mr. Prudhamme, 6th August, 1806.

SIR,

WITH all possible respect, I answer your excellency's letter, which was delivered to me at this place by Moses Porter, major of artillery of the United States.

It is true that I have crossed the Sabine river, with a detachment of troops belonging to the king, with orders from the captain-general, (by whom I am governed) to keep this territory from all hostile attempts, as belonging from time immemorial to the king, and which is a dependence of the province of Texas. The inhabitants still acknowledge obedience to our government, notwithstanding the violence committed on a small detachment of our troops by those of the United States.

From this moment I hold myself responsible to the real letter of the orders that govern me, which are, by no pretext whatsoever to interrupt or break the good intelligence which subsists between his majesty and the United States; but I cannot permit, without violating my duty, any usurpation upon the land he possesses. If your excellency makes any infringement, you alone will be answerable to the two courts, and may interrupt the amicable convention, perhaps now on foot, but of which I have no knowledge.

I did not send a translation of this in French or English, not having any person capable of translating, with purity, a thing of so serious a nature.

I felicitate myself of this opportunity in offering my best services.

Your very humble servant,

(Signed)

SIMON DE HERRERA.

Senor Don THOMAS CUSHING,
commander of a detachment of
the army of the United States.

Natchitoches, August 26th, 1806.

SIR,

ON my arrival at this post, I learned with certainty that a considerable Spanish force had crossed the Sabine, and advanced within the territory

claimed by the United States. It was hoped, sir, that pending the negotiations between our respective governments, for an amicable adjustment of the limits of Louisiana, that no additional settlements would be formed, or new military positions assumed by either power within the disputed territory; a policy which a conciliatory disposition would have suggested, and justice sanctioned; but since a contrary conduct has been observed on the part of certain officers of his catholic majesty, they alone will be answerable for the consequences which may ensue.

The above proceeding, sir, is not the only evidence of an unfriendly disposition which certain officers of Spain have afforded; I have to complain of the outrage lately committed by a detachment of Spanish troops acting under your instructions, toward Mr. Freeman and his party, who were ascending the Red river, under the orders of the President of the United States. Mr. Freeman and his associates were navigating waters which pass through the territory ceded by France to the United States; they were navigating a river on which the French had formerly made settlements far beyond the place where they were arrested; a fact of great notoriety, and in support of which, the testimony of several citizens residing at and near the post of Natchitoches can be adduced.

But nevertheless, Mr. Freeman and his party were assailed by a battalion of Spanish troops, and commanded to return; a proceeding the more exceptionable, since the objects of Mr. Freeman, were merely scientific, having in view nothing hostile to Spain; objects which were long since communicated by me to his excellency the marquis of Cassa Calvo, and which through him, I presume, must have been made known to the governor general of the province of Texas.

This detachment of Spanish troops, whose movements I learn are directed by your excellency, did, on their march, commit another outrage towards the United States, and of which it is my duty to ask an explanation. In the Caddo nation of Indians the flag of the United States was displayed, and commanded from the chief, and warriors, all the respect and veneration, to which it is entitled. But your troops are stated to have cut down the staff on which the pavillion waved, and to have menaced the peace and safety of the Caddos, should they continue their respect for the American government, or their friendly intercourse with the citizens of the United States.

I experience the more difficulty, in accounting for this transaction, since it cannot be unknown to your excellency, that while Louisiana appertained to France, the Caddo Indians were under the protection of the French government, and that a French garrison was actually established in one of their villages; hence it follows, sir, that the cession of Louisiana to the United States, "with the same extent which it had when France possessed it," is sufficient authority for the display of the American flag in the Caddo village, and that the disrespect which that flag has experienced, subjects your excellency to a serious responsibility.

I am unwilling to render this communication unnecessarily lengthy, but I must complain of another outrage, which has been committed under the eyes of your excellency. Three citizens of the United States, of the names of Shaw, Irvine, and Brewster, were seized by Spanish soldiers, within twelve miles of Natchitoches, and have been sent prisoners to Nacogdoches. I cannot suppose that this proceeding is unknown to your excellency, and I should be wanting in duty, did I not avail myself of the present occasion, to demand information as to the cause of their arrest and detention. There is still another subject on which I must address your excellency. It is reported to me, that several slaves, the property of citizens of the United States, have lately escaped from the service of their masters, and sought and found an asylum at Nacogdoches: I have seen the corres-

pondence between your excellency and judge Turner upon this subject, and I learn your determination to await the orders of the governour general of the province of Texas ; I will forbear, therefore, for the present, to press their immediate delivery to the order of their masters, but I must urge your excellency to discourage for the future, the escape of slaves from this to your territory, and I request that such as may repair to the bounds of your command, may be forthwith returned. Your excellency will readily perceive the cause of my solicitude on this subject. If fugitive slaves are to receive the protection of the Spanish authorities, the property of the citizens of this territory is indeed insecure, and a good understanding between our two governments ought not, and cannot be preserved. During the last year I had a correspondence with his excellency the marquis of Cassa Calvo, (who was then at New Orleans) relative to some negroes who had escaped to Nacogdoches, and in consequence of the interference of the marquis, I am led to believe that they were restored ; I was since officially informed by the marquis, that his conduct on the occasion was approved by his catholic majesty, and I consequently concluded that the mischief was at an end. It cannot, I presume, be unknown to the officers of his catholic majesty, that ministers from the United States have repaired to Spain, for the avowed purpose of amicably adjusting the existing differences : I should greatly regret, therefore, if any occurrences in this quarter should prevent that amicable arrangement, which the interest of each nation would advise. But if the officers of Spain should persist in their acts of aggression, your excellency will readily anticipate the consequences ; and if the sword must be drawn, let those be responsible, whose unfriendly conduct has rendered it indispensable.

Col. Henry Hopkins, the adjutant general of the militia of this territory, will have the honour to deliver to your excellency this communication, and to await your answer.

I tender to your excellency the assurances of my great respect, and high consideration.

(Signed)

WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

His excellency Governour Herrera,

Or the officer commanding a detachment of Spanish troops at or near the settlement of Bayou Pierre.

(COPY.)

SIR,

THE troops of the king, my master, which I have the honour to command, on this side of the Sabine, have no other object but to maintain good harmony between the United States and his majesty, and to preserve inviolate the territory which belongs to him.

Major Freeman was navigating the Red river on that part of the territory which never belonged to the province of Louisiana, now appertaining to the United States, for which reason he was notified by the commandant of the troops to retrograde as far back as the country that did belong to them. I agree with your excellency, that all the territory which his catholic majesty ceded to France, belongs to the United States, but the Caddo Indians are not on that land, but at a great distance from it, and live now on the territory of Spain ; for which reason it was notified to them, that if they choose to live under the government of the United States, they must go to the territory under their jurisdiction ; but if they desired to remain where

they were, it was required of them to take down the American flag. They consented not to abandon their village; but being more tardy than was conceived they might have been, in pulling down the flag, they (the Spaniards) were obliged to do it by force.

The reason why I detained the three citizens of the United States was, because they were found, and on different days, observing, our positions and movements, and three several times that I questioned them, I observed they did not agree, as to their motives of visiting the place, but finally one of them told me they wished to establish themselves under the government of the king at St. Antoine, which determined me to send them to the governor of the province with an escort, as well on account of the distance of the road, as for having rendered themselves suspected persons. The detention of the runaway negroes of Louisiana at Nacogdoches, is an affair in suspense before the captain general of this province, who likewise will have knowledge of the motives why those were sent back whom your excellency cited. And for the better security of the matter, I shall send your letter which I received by colonel Hopkins, and who likewise will be the bearer of this.

The troops of the king, neither from disposition nor character, will ever co-operate directly or indirectly in encouraging the emigration of negro slaves. For my part I assure your excellency that those I command will commit no hostility, which can frustrate the negotiations now pending between our courts; but if I am provoked to it I shall endeavour to preserve the honour of my troops, and to fulfil the obligations with which I am invested, a duty which my character and that of my subalterns demands.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer your excellency my respect and consideration.

(Signed)

SIMON M. HERRERA.

Spanish Camp, August 28, 1806.

His Excellency governor Wm. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

(COPY.)

Natchitoches, Aug. 31, 1806.

SIR,

BY the return of colonel Hopkins I am honoured with your excellency's reply to my communication of the 26th instant.

I continue of opinion that the advance of Spanish troops within a territory claimed by the United States, is evidence of an unfriendly disposition; nor can I perceive any thing in your excellency's letter, which can justify or extenuate the offensive conduct observed towards Mr. Freeman and his associates, or the indignity offered in the Caddo nation to the American flag.

You have not denied, sir, that the French, when in possession of Louisiana, had established a garrison on Red river, far beyond the place where Mr. Freeman and his associates were arrested on their voyage, or that the Caddo Indians were formerly considered as under the protection of the French government. The silence of your excellency on these points, proceeds probably from a knowledge on your part of the correctness of my statements. I shall, however, touch no further on these transactions in my correspondence with your excellency, but will hasten to lay the same before the President of the United States, who will know what measures to direct when wrongs are offered to the American nation. I cannot, however, refrain from expressing my displeasure at the arrest and detention, under your excellency's orders, of three citizens of the United States, Shaw, Irvine, and Brewster; they are charged with no offence that would warrant

imprisonment and transportation to St. Antonio. A state of actual war between our two nations could not have justified your conduct towards those unoffending citizens. I can venture to assert that the suspicions of your excellency, as to the objects of Shaw, Irvine, and Brewster, are unfounded; they certainly would have no particular inducements to notice the positions or movements of your troops. The fact, I believe, is, that these men were desirous of gratifying their curiosity, and wished your excellency's passports to visit St. Antonio. Under this impression, and from the circumstance that they were within the territory claimed by the United States, I deem it my duty to demand their release and speedy restoration to their country. It cannot be supposed that the distance to St. Antonio, or their personal convenience, occasioned the escort which attended them; they appear, on the contrary, to have been treated by your excellency as state prisoners, and as such, I have information of their having passed through Nacogdoches under a strong guard. Your excellency will recollect, that the subjects of his catholic majesty are daily in the habit of visiting the post of Natchitoches, and cannot but observe the position and movements of the American troops; they, however, are permitted to pass without molestation. A friendly and innocent intercourse between the citizens of the one and the subjects of the other power, has not as yet been interdicted by this government. I am persuaded therefore, that your excellency will see that the arrest of Shaw, Irvine, and Brewster, was premature, and that their detention is highly improper. I have no personal knowledge of these three men; they are American citizens, and of course under the protection of the government of the United States. In the name of that government therefore, I do now demand their release, and that they be restored to their country as soon as possible.

Pending the negotiations between our respective governments, I could wish that hostilities should not commence in this quarter; but if provoked to it by the unjust aggressions of the forces of his catholic majesty, the troops of the United States will endeavour to maintain their own and their country's honour.

Lieut. Duforest, of the American army, is charged with the delivery of this letter to your excellency, and to bear me such answer as you may think proper to return.

I renew to your excellency the assurances of my respectful consideration.

(Signed)

WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

His excellency Governour Herrera.

Extract of a letter from General Wilkinson to the Secretary of war, dated

Head Quarters, Natchitoches, October 4, 1806.

"I YESTERDAY morning received governour Cordero's answer to my address of the 24th ultimo, copies of which you have under cover.

"The varied style of this letter, when contrasted with those of governour Herrera to colonel Cushing and governour Claiborne, combined to the circumstance of the Spanish troops having re-crossed the Sabine, to a man, has induced me, on the ground of economy, and expediency also, to discharge the militia who had reached this place, and to countermand those under march; excepting about 100 dragoons and mounted infantry, whom I shall retain in service (until I am apprized of the determination of the captain general Saleeda) to watch the movements of our neighbours."

*Head Quarters of the army of the United States,
Natchitoches, Sept. 24, 1806.*

SIR,

AFTER the recent communications which have passed between his excellency governor Herrera, colonel Cushing, and governor Claiborne, and his reiterated repulsion of their reasonable and rightful demands ; I will confess to your excellency, that naught but the very high and solemn obligations, which I owe to humanity, could vanquish the repugnance with which I now have the honour to address you ; on a topick profoundly interesting to our respective nations, inasmuch as it may involve a question of peace or war.

The differences of opinion which have prevailed concerning the contested limits of Louisiana having been submitted to amicable negotiations by our respective sovereigns ; the appeal to rational enquiry is an admission of the dubiousity of the right, and therefore, should prevent any change of military positions, posterior to the delivery of the provinces of Louisiana to the United States.

The government of the American union, founded in right, and conducted by reason, has been instructed by the history of other times how to value the blessings of peace, and being unambitious of conquest or military fame, is desirous to preserve a fair and friendly understanding with all the powers of the earth.

Thus circumstanced, and under daily expectations of a favourable issue to the depending negotiations, it would mark a sanguinary spirit, and be a most ungracious, and unwarrantable deed, were the military officers of either government by an act of precipitancy, to frustrate the benevolent views of pacifick discussion ; and make way for the commencement of hostilities, whose final issue may baffle human foresight, but whose probable consequences would be scenes of revolution and bloodshed, offensive to humanity, and subversive of the general policy of nations.

In this state of things, I am ready to pledge myself, that pending the negotiations of the two countries, nothing shall be attempted against his catholic majesty's subjects, or territories, by the troops under my command ; unless his officers should attempt, as they have already done, to innovate the "statagus" at the surrender of the province, by occupying new ground, or erecting new posts, or unless they should trespass on the rights of the citizens, or violate the sovereignty of these states ; the former conduct will compel counter movements and occupancies, and the latter will not only justify recrimination, but will infallibly excite it, and thus hostilities may be produced, notwithstanding the peaceful dispositions of the high powers, to whom we are respectively accountable.

When the troops of the United States took possession of this post, the Spanish commandant from whom it was received, did not define the limits of his jurisdiction ; yet it was notorious that Nacogdoches formed the barrier post of the approximate province of Texas. It was known also, that controversies had existed between France and Spain, respecting the western limits of Louisiana, and we have been assured by Monsieur Laussett, the French commissioner, who delivered the province to the United States, that the pretensions of France went as far west as the Resdel Norte ; but we were not informed that any line of demarkation had ever been traced to partition these provinces.

Whether such a line of territorial jurisdiction had ever been established or not, between the provinces of Louisiana and Texas, one had been rendered indispensable, by the sale of the former to the United States ; for the administration of justice, the security of property, and the prevention of hos-

tile collisions ; and these states, with pretensions far more extensive, adopted the Sabine river as the most obvious, most convenient, most natural, and best exceptionable, temporary boundaries.

I am therefore, sir, commanded by the President of the United States, to inform you, "that the actual quiet possession of the country by the United States, east of the river Sabine ought and will be considered as fully within the limits of the country surrendered to the United States, on taking possession of this place, and therefore any attempt on the part of his catholic majesty's officers to disturb the existing state of things, by endeavouring to occupy any new post east of the Sabine, or westward or northward of the former boundaries, of what has been called West Florida, must be considered by the government of the United States, as an actual invasion of their territorial rights, and will be resisted accordingly." And while I submit these commands to your grave consideration, in the hope they may have due weight, it becomes my duty to demand from you the withdrawal of the troops of Spain to the west of the Sabine.

My sense of the high respect which is due from one old soldier to another, prohibits the idea of menace, but as our honour forbids stratagem or deception, before our swords have been drawn, I owe it to my own fame, and to the national character, to warn you, that the ultimate decision of the competent authority has been taken, that my orders are absolute and my determination fixed to assert, and (under God) to sustain, the jurisdiction of the United States to the Sabine river, against any force which may be opposed to me.

Retire then sir, I conjure you, the troops of your command from the ground in controversy, and spare the effusion of human blood, without prejudicing your own honour, or the substantial interest of his majesty, your royal master.

Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, chief des etats major of the army of the United States, has my orders to deliver this letter to you, and to wait a reasonable time for your answer.

I pray God to keep your excellency in his holy protection for many years, and have the honour to be,

Your most obedient

And humble servant,

JAMES WILKINSON.

His Excellency Governour Cordero,
chief in command of the troops of
Spain, on the western frontier of
the province of Texas.

Nacogdoches camp, Sept. 29, 1806.

EXCELLENT SIR,

BY the hands of colonel Thomas Cushing, chief of the general staff of the United States army, I have had the honour yesterday to receive your excellency's letter, written from your head quarters, at Natchitoches.

Being authorised to enter into a discussion of the serious and interesting matters on which you treat, I hope your excellency will excuse me for transmitting your letter with the utmost celerity to the hands of the captain general brigadier Nimesio Saleedo, under whose orders I act ; and I shall transmit to your excellency his answer, in the same manner, by the hands of an officer of my staff.

While thus acting, I have the honour to offer to your excellency my respects and consideration, praying God to keep you alive many years.

I am, sir, your excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed)

ANTONIO CORDERO.

His excellency Don JAMES WILKINSON, governour of Louisiana, and general of the army of the United States of America.

Extract of a letter from General Wilkinson to the secretary of war, dated

"Natchitoches, October 21st, 1806.

"Accidental causes having detained the bearer, I am enabled to transmit you under cover the answer of governour Cordero, to my note of the 4th inst. of which a copy has been forwarded, and a duplicate will accompany this.

"I send you a literal copy of the governour's letter, in place of a very imperfect translation, which however serves to remove all doubts of the continued pretensions of the Spaniards to extend their jurisdiction to the Avoya Fonda, within seven miles of this post, and confirms my determination to advance to the Sabine, for which point my arrangements being completed, I shall march to morrow morning; but agreeably to the idea expressed in a former letter, I intend to propose to the Spanish commander the withdrawal of our troops, respectively, to the points of occupancy at the period of the surrender of the province to the United States, and in case of his refusal I shall be governed by circumstances.

"I am informed the captain general Saleedo, was to be at Nacogdoches on the 22nd proximo."

Head quarters, Natchitoches, October 4th, 1806.

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your excellency's letter of the 29th ultimo, by colonel Cushing, and shall expect the answer of his excellency the captain general Saleedo, with solicitude.

In the mean time I shall move forward towards the Sabine, and to prevent the misinterpretation of my motives, I consider it proper to apprize you, that this movement is made solely to demonstrate the pretensions of the United States to the territory east of that river, and with no hostile intentions against the troops or realms of Spain.

This step has been rendered essential to the honour of the United States, by the late movements and occupancies of his excellency governour Herrera and it is also justified by the position which the troops of your excellency's command have recently taken immediately on the western bank of the Sabine, sixty miles advanced of Nacogdoches.

I avail myself of a casual, but certain conveyance to transmit this letter to your excellency, and I pray God to keep you in his holy protection for many years.

(Signed)

JAMES WILKINSON.

His excellency Antonio Cordero, commander in chief of the troops of Spain on the eastern frontier of the province of Texas.

MESSAGE

Of the President of the United States, containing the Communication to both Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the first session of Tenth Congress, October 27, 1807.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

CIRCUMSTANCES, fellow citizens, which seriously threatened the peace of our country, have made it a duty to convene you at an earlier period than usual. The love of peace so much cherished in the bosom of our citizens, which has so long guided the proceedings of their councils, and induced forbearance under so many wrongs, may not ensure our continuance in the quiet pursuits of industry. The many injuries and depredations committed on our commerce & navigation upon the high seas, for years past, the successive innovations on those principles of publick law, which have been established by the reason and usage of nations, as the rule of their intercourse, and the umpire and security of their rights and peace, and all the circumstances which induced the extraordinary mission to London, are already known to you. The instructions given to our ministers were framed in the sincerest spirit of amity and moderation.— They accordingly proceeded, in conformity therewith, to propose arrangements which might embrace and settle all the points in difference between us; which might bring us to a mutual understanding on our neutral and national rights, and provide for a commercial intercourse on conditions of some equality. After long and fruitless endeavours to effect the purposes of their mission, and to obtain arrangements within the limits of their instructions, they concluded to sign such as could be obtained and to send them for consideration, candidly declaring to the other negociators at the same time, that they were acting against their instructions, and that their government therefore could not be pledged for ratification. Some of the articles proposed might have been admitted on a principle of compromise, but others were too highly disadvantageous, and no sufficient provision was made against the principal source of the irritations and collisions which were constantly endangering the peace of the two nations. The question therefore, whether a treaty should be accepted in that form, could have admitted but of one decision, even had no declarations of the other party impaired our confidence in it. Still anxious not to close the door against friendly adjustments, new modifications were framed, and further concessions authorised, than could before have been supposed necessary, and our ministers were instructed to resume their negociations on these grounds.

On this new reference to amicable discussion, we were reposing in confidence, when on the 22d day of June last, by a formal order from a British admiral, the frigate Chesapeake, leaving her port for a distant service, was attacked by one of those vessels which had been lying in our harbours under the indulgences of hospitality, was disabled from proceeding, had several of her crew killed, and four taken away.—On this outrage no commentaries are necessary. Its character has been pronounced by the indignant voice of our citizens with an emphasis and unanimity never exceeded. I immediately by proclamation interdicted our harbours and waters to all British armed vessels, forbade intercourse with them, and, uncertain how far hostilities were intended, and the town of Norfolk being indeed threatened with immediate at-

tack, a sufficient force was ordered for the protection of that place, and such other preparations commenced and pursued as the prospect rendered proper. An armed vessel of the United States was dispatched with instructions to our ministers at London to call on that government for the satisfaction and security required by the outrage. A very short interval ought now to bring the answer, which shall be communicated to you as soon as received: then also, or as soon after as the publick interests shall be found to admit, the unratified treaty and proceedings relative to it, shall be made known to you.

The aggression thus begun, has been continued on the part of the British commanders by remaining within our waters in defiance of the authority of the country, by habitual violations of its jurisdiction, and at length by putting to death one of the persons whom they had forcibly taken from on board the Chesapeake. These aggravations necessarily lead to the policy either of never admitting an armed vessel into our harbours, or of maintaining in every harbour such an armed force as may constrain obedience to the laws, and protect the lives and property of our citizens against their armed guests; but the expense of such a standing force, and its inconsistency with our principles, dispense with those courtesies which would necessarily call for it, and leave us equally free to exclude the navy as we are the army of a foreign power, from entering our limits.

To former violations of maritime rights another is now added of very extensive effect. The government of that nation has issued an order interdicting all trade by neutrals between ports not in amity with them, and being now at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, our vessels are required to sacrifice their cargoes at the first port they touch, or to return home without the benefit of going to any other market. Under this new law of the ocean, our trade on the Mediterranean has been swept away by seizures and condemnations, and that in other seas is threatened with the same fate.

Our differences with Spain remain still unsettled, no measure having been taken on her part, since my last communications to Congress, to bring them to a close.—But under a state of things, which may favour reconsideration, they have been recently pressed, and an expectation is entertained that they may now soon be brought to an issue of some sort. With their subjects on our borders, no new collisions have taken place, nor seem immediately to be apprehended. To our former grounds of complaint has been added a very serious one, as you will see by the decree, a copy of which is now communicated. Whether this decree, which professes to be conformable to that of the French government of Nov. 21, 1806, heretofore communicated to Congress, will also be conformed to that in its construction and application in relation to the United States, had not been ascertained at the date of our last communications. These, however, gave reason to expect such a conformity.

With the other nations of Europe, our harmony has been uninterrupted, and commerce and friendly intercourse have been maintained on their usual footing.

Our peace with the several states on the coast of Barbary appears as firm as at any former period, and as likely to continue as that of any other nation.

Among our Indian neighbours, in the north-western quarter, some fermentation was observed soon after the late occurrences threatening the continuance of our peace. Messages were said to be interchanged, and tokens to be passing, which usually denote a state of restlessness among them, and the character of the agitators pointed to the sources of excitement;—measures were immediately taken for providing against that danger; instructions were given to require explanations, and, with assurances of our continued friendship, to admonish the tribes to remain quiet at home, taking no part in quarrels not belonging to them. As far as we are yet informed, the tribes in our vicin-

ity, who are most advanced in the pursuits of industry, are sincerely disposed to adhere to their friendship with us, and to their peace with all others; while those, more remote, do not present appearances sufficiently quiet to justify the intermission of military precaution on our part.

The great tribes on our south-western quarter, much advanced beyond the others in agriculture and household arts, appear tranquil and identifying their views with ours in proportion to their advancement. With the whole of these people in every quarter, I shall continue to inculcate peace and friendship with all their neighbours, and perseverance in those occupations and pursuits which will best promote their own well being.

The appropriation of the last session for the defence of our seaport towns and harbours, were made under expectation that a continuance of our peace would permit us to proceed in that work according to our convenience. It has been thought better to apply the sum then given towards the defence of New-York, Charleston, and New-Orleans chiefly, as most open and most likely first to need protection, and to leave places less immediately in danger to the provisions of the present session.

The gun-boats already provided have, on a like principle, been chiefly assigned to New-York, New-Orleans and the Chesapeake. Whether our moveable force on the water, so material in aid of the defensive works on the land, should be augmented in this or any other form, is left to the wisdom of the legislature. For the purpose of manning these vessels in sudden attacks on our harbours, it is a matter for consideration whether the seamen of the United States may not justly be formed into a special militia, to be called on for tours of duty, in defence of the harbours where they shall happen to be, the ordinary militia of the place furnishing that portion which may consist of landmen.

The moment our peace was threatened I deemed it indispensable to secure a greater provision of those articles of military stores, with which our magazines were not sufficiently furnished. To have awaited a previous and special sanction by law, would have lost occasions which might not be retrieved. I did not hesitate, therefore, to authorise engagements for such supplements to our existing stock, as would render it adequate to the emergencies threatening us; and I trust that the legislature, feeling the same anxiety for the safety of our country so materially advanced by this precaution, will approve, when done, what they would have seen so important to be done, if then assembled.—Expenses, also unprovided for, arose out of the necessity of calling all our gun-boats into actual service for the defence of our harbours, of all which accounts will be laid before you.

Whether a regular army is to be raised, and to what extent, must depend on the information so shortly expected. In the mean time, I have called on the states for quotas of militia to be in readiness for present defence; and have moreover, encouraged the acceptance of volunteers; and I am happy to inform you, that these have offered themselves with great alacrity in every part of the union; they are ordered to be organized, and ready at a moment's warning, to proceed on any service to which they may be called, and every preparation within the executive powers, has been made to ensure us the benefit of early exertions.

I informed Congress at their last session of the enterprizes against the publick peace, which were believed to be in preparation by Aaron Burr and his associates, of the measures taken to defeat them, and to bring the offenders to justice: their enterprizes were happily defeated by the patriotic exertions of the militia, wherever called into action, by the fidelity of the army and energy of the commander in chief, in promptly arranging the difficulties presenting themselves on the Sabine, repairing to meet those arising

on the Mississippi, and dissipating, before their explosion, plots engendering there. I shall think it my duty to lay before you the proceedings and the evidence publicly exhibited on the arraignment of the principal offenders before the district court of Virginia. You will be enabled to judge whether the defect was in the testimony, in the law, or in the administration of the law : and wherever it shall be found, the legislature alone can apply or originate the remedy. The framers of our constitution certainly supposed they had guarded, as well their government against destruction by treason, as their citizens against oppression under pretence of it ; and if these ends are not attained, it is of importance to inquire by what means more effectually they may be secured.

The accounts of the receipts of revenue during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, being not yet made up, a correct statement will be hereafter transmitted from the treasury, in the mean time it is ascertained that the receipts have amounted to nearly sixteen millions of dollars, which, with the 5 millions and an half in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, and interest incurred, to pay more than four millions of the principal of our funded debt.—These payments, with those of the preceding five and an half years, have extinguished of the funded debt twenty-five millions and a half of dollars, being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law, and of our contracts, and have left us in the treasury 8 millions and a half of dollars. A portion of this sum may be considered as a commencement of accumulation of the surplusses of revenue, which, after paying the instalments of debt, as they shall become payable, will remain without any specific object. It may partly, indeed, be applied towards compleating the defence of the exposed points of our country on such a scale as shall be adapted to our principles and circumstances.

This object is, doubtless, among the first entitled to attention, in such a state of our finances : and it is one which, whether we have peace or war, will provide security where it is due. Whether what shall remain of this, with the future surplusses, may be usefully applied to purposes already authorised or more usefully to others requiring new authorities, or how otherwise they shall be disposed of, are questions calling for the notice of Congress : unless indeed they shall be superseded by a change in our publick relations, now awaiting the determination of others. Whatever be that determination, it is a great consolation that it will become known at a moment when the supreme council of the nation is assembled at its post, and ready to give the aids of its wisdom and authority to whatever course the good of our country shall then call us to pursue.

Matters of minor importance will be the subject of future communications ; and nothing shall be wanting on my part, which may give information or dispatch to the proceedings of the legislature in the exercise of their high duties, and at a moment so interesting to the publick welfare.

TH : JEFFERSON.

Tuesday, Oct. 27, 1807.

DOCUMENTS.

Note communicated by lord Howick to Mr. Monroe, dated January 10, 1807.

THE undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has received his majesty's commands to acquaint Mr. Monroe, that the

French government, having issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his majesty's dominions, and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country in any articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; and the said government having also taken upon itself to declare all his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports by the superiour valour and discipline of the British navy;

Such attempts on the part of the enemy, giving to his majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and warranting his majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of his majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous:

His Majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade; yet feels himself bound by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps on his part, to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice. Mr. Monroe is therefore requested to apprise the American consuls and merchants residing in England, that his majesty has therefore judged it expedient to order that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat: and that the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers have been instructed to warn every neutral vessel, coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and every vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize; and that from this time all the measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers will be adopted and executed, with respect to vessels attempting to violate the said order after this notice.

(Signed)

HOWICK.

*Downing street, Jan.
10, 1807.*

TRANSLATION.

BY the greatest outrage against humanity and against policy, Spain was forced by Great Britain to take part in the present war. This power has exercised over the sea and over the commerce of the world an exclusive dominion. Her numerous factories, disseminated through all countries, are like sponges which imbibe the riches of those (countries) without leaving them more than the appearances of mercantile liberty. From this maritime

and commercial despotism, England derives immense resources for carrying on a war, whose object it is to destroy the commerce which belongs to each state, from its industry and situation. Experience has proven that the morality of the British cabinet has no hesitation as to the means, so long as they lead to the accomplishment of its designs: and whilst this power can continue to enjoy the fruits of its immense traffick, humanity will groan under the weight of a desolating war. To put an end to this, and to attain a solid peace, the emperor of the French and king of Italy, issued a decree on the 21st of November last, in which, adopting the principle of reprisals, the blockade of the British Isles is determined on; and his ambassadour, his excellency Francis de Beauharnois, grand dignitary of the order of the iron crown, of the legion of honour, &c. &c. having communicated this (decree) to the king our master; and his majesty being desirous to co-operate by means sanctioned by the rights of reciprocity, has been pleased to authorize his most serene highness the prince generalissimo of the marine, to issue a circular of the following tenour.

“As soon as England committed the horrible outrage of intercepting the vessels of the royal marine, insidiously violating the good faith with which peace assures individual property, and the rights of nations, his majesty considered himself in a state of war with that power, although his royal soul suspended the promulgation of the manifesto until he saw the atrocity, committed by its seamen, sanctioned by the government of London. From that time, and without the necessity of warning the inhabitants of these kingdoms, of the circumspection with which they ought to conduct themselves towards those of a country, which disregards the sacred laws of property, and the rights of nations; his majesty made known to his subjects the state of war, in which he found himself with that nation. All trade, all commerce, is prohibited in such a situation, and no sentiments ought to be entertained towards such an enemy, which are not dictated by honour, avoiding all intercourse which might be considered as the vile effects of avarice, operating on the subjects of a nation, which degrades itself in them. His majesty is well persuaded that such sentiments of honour are rooted in the hearts of his beloved subjects, but he does not choose on that account to allow the smallest indulgence to the violators of the law, nor permit that, through their ignorance, they should be taken by surprise, authorising me by these presents to declare that all English property will be confiscated, whenever it is found on board a vessel, although a neutral, if the consignment belongs to Spanish individuals. So likewise will be confiscated all merchandize which may be met with, although it may be in neutral vessels, whenever it is destined for the ports of England or her Isles. And, finally, his majesty conforming himself to the ideas of his ally the emperor of the French, declares in his states the same law which from principles of reciprocity, and suitable respect, his imperial majesty promulgated under date of the 21st November, 1806.

The execution of this determination of his majesty, belongs to the chiefs of provinces, of departments, and of vessels (baxeles) and communicating it to them in the name of his majesty, I hope they will leave no room for the royal displeasure.

God preserve you many years.

Aranjuez, 19th Feb.

ruary, 1807.

THE PRINCE GENERALISSIMO

OF THE MARINE.”

A DECREE

of the King of Holland, passed August 28th, 1807, relative to Neutral Commerce.

LOUIS NAPOLEON, *by the Grace of God, and the Constitution, King of Holland,*

Considering that, consistently with the true interest of our Kingdom, it is our intention to co-operate by every means in our power towards the wished for result of the great measures adopted by his Majesty the Emperour and King, for the attainment of a general peace and the independence of the seas,—considering that some subaltern Agents have been guilty of weakness and neglect in the execution of the measures prescribed by our Decree of 15th October 1806,—considering the dexterity and perfidy with which the Papers of neutral Vessels are imitated in some of the Enemy's ports and even the Bills of Health, at the risk of the health of Europe,—considering, lastly, that all these irregularities ought to cease, at a moment so critical for the enemy of the whole Continent, and particularly for the commercial Nations, and that the honour and the dearest interests of our subjects would be endangered by a deviation from the strictest execution of the laws, and decrees existing on this important subject ;

We have decreed and enact as follows :—

1st. The agents, arrested according to the order of our ministers of justice and police, shall be brought before the competent courts of justice and tried according to law.

2d. Concerning the vessels detained in our ports, of which a list accompanies the present, sentence shall be pronounced by the competent courts of justice with the greatest rigour.

3d. All the inward bound vessels, from the date of the promulgation of the present Decree, shall be obliged to give a *double security*, which shall remain in force till the legality of the papers are fully acknowledged, and that it is proved that the same vessels have *not touched at any enemy's port*.

4th. In case it should be proved that the papers were false, or that, contrary to the declaration of the captain, the vessel had *touched at an enemy's port*, the double security shall be levied immediately on the bondsman, and the amount thereof paid into the publick treasury.

5th. As soon as the security shall have been regulated, the vessel may begin discharging in presence of persons appointed thereto by the minister of finance, who will take care that the owner discharge no goods which are suspected to be English wares.

6th. In case it should be proved, that the goods were really of English manufacture, or came from an enemy's port, the same shall not only be confiscated for the benefit of the publick treasury, but the double security shall likewise be levied without delay, and the vessel be obliged to proceed to sea immediately ; and in case of bad weather, no permission shall be granted her to remain, but under the strictest precautions—namely a guard, and the most vigilant cognizance.

7th. All correspondences, journals, &c. which come through neutral territory, shall be seized and burnt.

8th. All passengers or travellers, not being able to prove that they are not come from the British islands, shall be immediately ordered out of the country.

9th. All prohibitory regulations concerning the trade with England, remain in full force, in so far as they are not altered by the present decree.

10th. All those who violate the present regulations, shall be tried and punished as opposing the laws of the kingdom.

11th. Our minister of finance is alone personally answerable for the strict executions; our ministers of war and marine shall hold at his disposal the detachments of Hussars, Gend'armes, of Infantry, together with boats and armed vessels, which he may demand of them.

12th. Our ministers of marine, of finance, and of war, are charged each in as far as it concerns him, with the execution of the present Decree.

Given on the 28th of August, 1807, being the second year of our reign.

Signed,

LOUIS.

On the part of the King,

W. F. ROELL, Sec'y of State.

REPORT

Of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, communicated to Congress, November 6. 1807.

In obedience to the directions of the act supplementary to the act intituled "An act to establish the Treasury Department," the secretary of the treasury respectfully submits the following report and estimates.

REVENUE and RECEIPTS.

The nett revenue arising from duties on merchandise and tonnage which accrued during the year 1805, amounted to 14,135,138

And that which accrued during the year 1806, amounted as will appear by the statement (A) to 16,576,454

The same revenue, after deducting that portion which arose from the duty on salt, and from the additional duties constituting the Mediterranean fund, amounted during the year 1805, to 12,520,532

And during the year 1806, to 14,809,758

It is ascertained, that the nett revenue which has accrued during the three first quarters of the year 1807, exceeds that of the corresponding quarters of the year 1806; and that branch of the revenue may, exclusively of the duty on salt, and of the Mediterranean fund, both of which expire on the 1st day of January next, be safely estimated for the present, if no charge takes place in the relation of the United States with foreign nations, at fourteen millions of dollars.

The statement (B.) exhibits in detail, the several species of merchandise and other sources from which the revenue was collected during the year 1806.

It appears by the statement (C) that the sales of the publick lands have during the year ending on the 30th September, 1807, exceeded 284,000 acres.—Some returns are not yet received; and the proceeds of sales in the Mississippi Territory being, after deducting the surveying and other incidental expenses, appropriated in the first place to the payment of a sum of 1,250,000 dollars to the state of Georgia, have not been included, but are distinctly stated. The actual payments by purchasers have, during the same period, exceeded 680,000 dollars; and the receipts into the treasury from that source may, after deducting charges and the 5 pr. ct. reserved for roads, be estimated for the ensuing year, at 500,000 dolls.

The receipts arising from the permanent revenue of the United States may, therefore, without including the duties on postage & other incidental

branches, be computed for the year 1808 at 14,500,000

And the payments into the treasury during the same year, on account of the salt and Mediterranean duties previously accrued, are estimated at one million three hundred thousand dollars 1,300,000

Making in the whole an aggregate of fifteen millions eight hundred thousand dollars 15,800,000

Last Quarter of the Year 1807.

The balance in the treasury which, on the 30th of Sept. 1806 amounted to 5,496,969 dollars 77 cents, did on the 30th of Sept. 1807, amount to 8,530,000

The receipts into the treasury from the 1st of October to the 31st day of December 1807, are estimated at 4,000,000

12,530,000

The expenses during the same period for all objects whatever, the publick debt excepted, and including 686,076 dollars for the extraordinary expenditures of the Navy Department, of which the estimate has been transmitted, are estimated at 1,700,000

The ordinary payments on account of the publick debt, including the provision for the interest on the Louisiana and Dutch debt to the 1st of July 1808, are estimated at 1,700,000

A further sum of about 1,500,000 dollars should also be paid during this quarter, in order to complete the annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars. If the whole of this sum which is applicable to the purchase of the eight per cent. stock, cannot be expended this year, the unexpended balance will form an additional expenditure for the year 1808, charging however the whole to this quarter, 1,500,000

Making an aggregate of 4,900,000 dollars and will leave in the Treasury at the close of the year a balance of about seven millions six hundred thousand dollars, 7,630,000

12,530,000

Expenditures of the Year 1808.

The permanent expences calculated on a peace establishment are estimated at 11,600,000 dollars, and consist of the following items, viz.

1. For the civil department, and all domestick expenses of a civil nature including invalid pensions, the light house, and mint establishments, the expenses of surveying publick lands and the sea coast, the fifth instalment of the loan due to Maryland, and a sum of 100,000 dollars to meet such miscellaneous appropriations, not included in the estimates, as may be made by Congress, 1,100,000

2. For expenses incident to the intercourse with foreign nations including the permanent appropriation for Algiers, 200,000

3. For the military and Indian department, including trading houses and the permanent appropriation for certain Indian tribes, 1,280,000

4. For the naval establishment, 1,020,000

5. The annual appropriation of eight millions of dls. for the payment of the principal and interest of the publick debt; of which sum not more than 3,400,000 dols. will for the year 1808 be applicable to the payment of interest. 8,000,000

11,600,000

To the permanent expenses must be added for the year 1808 a sum of about 800,000 dollars, necessary in addition to the annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars, to complete on the 1st January, 1809, the reimbursement of the 8 per cent. stock, 800,000

And for paying the balance of American claims, assumed by the French convention, 200,000

Making altogether 12,600,000 for the expenses of that year, 12,600,000

The receipts of the year having been estimated at 15,800,000

And the probable balance in the Treasury on the 1st of January next at 7,630,000

Making all together 23,430,000

Would therefore probably leave in the Treasury on the 1st of January, 1809, a balance of near eleven millions of dollars, 10,830,000

23,430,000

PUBLIC DEBT.

It appears by the statement (D.) that the payments on account of the principal of the publick debt, have, during the year ending the 30th day of September, 1807, exceeded 4,600,000 dollars; making the total of publick debt reimbursed from the 1st of April, 1801, to the 1st of October, 1807, about 25,880,000 dollars, exclusively of more than six millions, which have been paid during the same period, in conformity with the provisions of the treaty and convention with Great Britain, and of the Louisiana convention.

Of the twelve millions of dollars, which according to the preceding estimates, may be paid on account of the publick debt, between the 30th September 1807, and the 1st January 1809, about eight millions will be on account of the principal. It must, however, be observed, that the unascertained result of the proportion made to the publick creditors for the modification of the debt, may affect the amount payable during the year 1808, on account of both principal and interest.

On the 1st day of January, 1809, the principal of the debt, will, if the proposed modification be not assented to by the publick creditors, amount to near fifty-seven millions five hundred thousand dollars. The subsequent annual payments thereon, on account of principal and interest, will not, exclusively of occasional purchases, exceed 4,600,000 dollars; and the whole of the debt, the nineteen millions of three per cent. stock only excepted, will be reimbursed in 16 years.

A general subscription would reduce the capital to about fifty-one millions of dollars. The payments would amount to eight millions of dollars annually, during six years, and average less than three millions during the seven following; at the end of which period the whole debt would be extinguished.

An annual unappropriated surplus of at least three millions of dollars, may henceforth be relied upon with great confidence. The receipts of the year 1808 have been estimated at 15,800,000 and the expences at 12,100,000 dollars. The permanent revenue has been computed at 14,500,000 dollars, and the permanent expences, predicated on an annual payment of eight millions of dollars on account of the debt, have been stated at 16,600,000 dollars; and as this would, if no modification of the debt should take place, be reduced to less than 8,500,000, the annual surplus would then amount to six millions of dollars. Nor are the seven millions and an half of dollars, which

remain in the treasury at the end of the present year, included in the calculation.

What portion of that surplus may be wanted for necessary measures of security and defence; what portion should be applied to internal improvements, which, whilst increasing and diffusing the national wealth, will strengthen the bonds of union, are subjects which do not fall within the province of the Treasury Department—but it is not impossible, that after making ample provisions for both those objects considerable surplusses, which can no longer be applied to the redemption of the debt, may still accumulate in the treasury.

The previous accumulation of treasury in time of peace might, in a great degree, defray the extraordinary expences of war, and diminish the necessity of either loans or additional taxes. It would provide, during periods of prosperity, for those of adverse events, to which every nation is exposed, instead of increasing the burdens of the people at a time when they are least able to bear them, or of impairing by anticipations the resources of ensuing generations:—and the publick monies of the United States, not being locked up and withdrawn from the general circulation; but on the contrary deposited in banks, and continuing to form a part of the circulating medium, the most formidable objection to that system, which has nevertheless been at times adopted with considerable success in other countries, is thereby altogether removed. It is also believed that the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States may, among other advantages, afford to government an opportunity of obtaining interest on publick deposits, whenever they shall exceed a certain amount.

Should the United States, contrary to their expectation and desire, be involved in war, it is believed that the receipts of the year 1808 will not be materially affected by the event, inasmuch as they will principally arise from the revenue accrued during the present year. The amount of outstanding bonds due by importers, after deducting the debentures issued on account of re-exportations, exceeds, at this time, sixteen millions of dollars. The deductions to be made from these on account of subsequent re-exportations, would, in case of war, be less than usual; for exportations will then be checked, as well as importations, and in proportion as these will decrease, a greater home demand will be created for the stock on hand, and the necessity of re-exporting be diminished.

It has already been stated, that the specie in the treasury at the end of this year, together with the surplus of the year 1808, will amount to near eleven millions of dollars—a sum probably adequate to meet the extraordinary expences of the war for that year. It will also be recollected, that in the estimated expences of the year 1808, the reimbursement of near five millions and a half of the principal of the debt is included. The only provision therefore which may render any contingency necessary for the extraordinary service of that year, in order to cover any deficiency of revenue or increase of expenditure beyond what has been estimated, will be an authority to borrow a sum equal to that reimbursement.

That the revenue of the United States will, in subsequent years, be considerably impaired by a war, neither can or ought to be concealed.—It is on the contrary necessary, in order to be prepared for the crisis, to take an early view of the subject, and to examine the resources which should be selected for supplying the deficiency, and defraying the extraordinary expences.

There are no data from which the extent of the defalcation can at this moment be calculated, or even estimated. It will be sufficient to state, 1st, That it appears necessary to provide a revenue at least equal to the annual expences on a peace establishment, the interest of the existing debt, and the

interest on the loans which may be raised. 2. That those expences, together with the interest of the debt, will, after the year 1808, amount to a sum less than seven millions of dollars, and therefore that if the present revenue of 14,500,000 dollars shall not be diminished more than one half by the war, it will still be adequate to the object, leaving only the interest of war loans to be provided for.

Whether taxes should be raised to a greater amount, or loans be altogether relied on for defraying the expenses of the war, is the next subject of consideration.

Taxes are paid by the great mass of the citizens, and immediately affect almost every individual of the community. Loans are supplied by capitals previously accumulated by a few individuals. In a country where the resources of individuals are not generally and materially affected by war, it is practicable and wise to raise by taxes the greater part at least of the annual supplies. The credit of the nation may also, from various circumstances, be at times so far impaired as to leave no resource but taxation. In both respects the situation of the United States is totally dissimilar.

A maritime war will, in the United States, generally and deeply affect, whilst it continues, the resources of individuals, as not only commercial profits will be curtailed, but principally because a great portion of the surplus of agricultural produce necessarily requires a foreign market. The reduced price of the principal articles exported from the United States will operate more heavily than any contemplated tax. And without inquiring whether a similar cause may not still more deeply and permanently affect a nation at war with the United States, it seems to follow, that so far as relates to America, the losses and privations caused by the war should not be aggravated by taxes beyond what is strictly necessary. An addition to the debt is doubtless an evil; but experience having now shewn with what rapid progress the revenue of the union increases in time of peace, with what facility the debt formerly contracted has, in a few years, been reduced, a hope may confidently be entertained that all the evils of the war will be temporary and easily repaired, and that the return of peace will, without any effort, afford ample resources for reimbursing whatever may have been borrowed during the war.

The credit of the United States is also unimpaired either at home or abroad, and it is believed that loans to a reasonable amount may be obtained on eligible terms. Measures have been taken to ascertain to what extent this may be effected abroad; and it will be sufficient here to suggest, that the several banks of the United States may find it convenient after the ensuing year, and as the diminished commerce of the country may require less capital, to loan to government a considerable portion of their capital stock, now computed at about forty millions of dollars.

It might be premature to enter into a particular detail of the several branches of revenue which may be selected, in order to provide for the interest of war loans, and to cover deficiencies in case the existing revenue should fall below seven millions of dollars. A general enumeration seems at present sufficient.

1. Not only the duty on salt and the Mediterranean duties may be immediately revived; but the duties on importation generally may, in case of war, be considerably increased, perhaps doubled, with less inconvenience than would arise from any other mode of taxation. Without resorting to the example of other nations, experience has proven that this source of revenue is in the United States the most productive, the easiest to collect, and the least burthensome to the great mass of the people. In time of war the danger of smuggling is diminished, the scarcity of foreign articles prevents the duty ever falling on the importer; the consumers are precisely those members of the community who are best able to pay the duty; and the in-

crease of Domestick Manufactures which may be indirectly affected, is in itself a desirable object.

2. Indirect taxes, however ineligible, will doubtless be cheerfully paid as war taxes, if necessary. Several modifications of the system formerly adopted, might, however, be introduced, both in order to diminish some of the inconveniences which were experienced, and particularly to ensure the collection of the duties.

3. Direct taxes are liable to a particular objection arising from the unavoidable inequality produced by the general rule of the constitution. Whatever difference may exist between the relative wealth, and consequent ability of paying, of the several states, still the tax must necessarily be raised in proportion to their relative population. Should it, however, become necessary to resort to that resource, it is believed that the tax raised upon that species of property in each state which, by the state laws, is liable to taxation, as had originally been contemplated by congress, would be preferable to a general assessment laid uniformly on the same species of property in all the states, as was ultimately adopted.

All which respectfully submitted.

ALBERT GALLATIN, *Secretary of the Treasury.*
Treasury Department, Nov. 5, 1807.

BRITISH PROCLAMATION.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for recalling and prohibiting Seamen from serving Foreign Princes and States.

GEORGE R.—Whereas it hath been represented unto us, that great numbers of marines and seafaring men, our natural-born subjects, have been enticed to enter into the service of foreign states, and are now actually serving as well on board the ships of war belonging to the said foreign states, as on board the merchant vessels belonging to their subjects, notwithstanding our former Proclamation recalling them, contrary to the duty and allegiance which our said subjects owe unto us, and to the great disservice of their native country; we have therefore thought it necessary at the present moment, when our kingdom is menaced and endangered, and when the maritime rights, on which its power and greatness do mainly depend, are disputed and called in question, to publish, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, this our Royal Proclamation:—

We do hereby strictly charge and command all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, shipwrights, and other seafaring men being our natural-born subjects, who may have been enticed into the pay or service of any foreign state, or do serve in any foreign ship or vessel, that, forthwith, they and every of them do (according to their bounden duty and allegiance, and in consideration that their native country hath need of all their services) withdraw themselves, and depart from, and quit such foreign services, and do return home to their native country; or do enter on board such of our ships of war as they may chance to fall in with, either on the high seas, or in any rivers, waters, havens, roads, ports, or places whatsoever or wheresoever.

And, for the better execution of the purposes of this our Royal Proclamation, we do authorise and command all captains, masters, and others commanding our ships and vessels of war, to stop and make stay of all and every such person or persons (being our natural-born subjects) as shall endeavour to transport or enter themselves into the service of any foreign state, contrary to the intent and command of this our royal proclamation, and to seize upon, take,

and bring away all such persons as aforesaid, who shall be found to be employed or serving in any foreign merchant ship or vessel as aforesaid:—but we do strictly enjoin all such our captains, masters, and others, that they do permit no man to go on board such ships and vessels belonging to the states at amity with us for the purpose of so seizing upon, taking, and bringing away such persons as aforesaid, for whose discreet and orderly demeanour the said captains cannot answer; and that they do take especial care that no unnecessary violence be done or offered to the vessel, or to the remainder of the crew, from out of which such persons shall be taken.

And in case of their receiving information of any such person or persons being employed, or serving on board of any ship of war belonging to such foreign state, being in a state of amity with us, we do authorise and command our captains, masters, and others, commanding our ships of war, to require of the captain or commander of such foreign ship of war, that he do forthwith release and discharge such person or persons being our natural-born subject or subjects; and if such release and discharge shall be refused, then to transmit information of such refusal to the commander-in-chief of the squadron under whose order such captain or commander shall be then serving; which information the said commander-in-chief is hereby strictly directed and enjoined to transmit, with the least possible delay, to our Minister residing at the seat of Government of that state to which the said foreign ship of war shall belong, or to our Lord High Admiral, or Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the time being, in order that we, being apprised of such proceeding, may forthwith direct the necessary steps to be taken for obtaining redress from the Government to which such foreign ships of war shall belong, for the injury done to us by the unwarranted detention of our natural-born subjects in the service of a foreign state.

And whereas it has further been represented unto us that divers mariners and seafaring men, our natural-born subjects, have been induced to accept letters of naturalization, or certificates of citizenship, from foreign states, and have been taught to believe that, by such letters or certificates, they are discharged from that duty of allegiance which as our natural-born subjects, they owe to us; now we do hereby warn all such mariners, seafaring men, and others our natural-born subjects, that no such letters of naturalization, or certificates of citizenship, do or can, in any manner, divest our natural-born subjects of the allegiance, or in any degree alter the duty which they owe to us, their lawful Sovereign. But, in consideration of the error into which such mariners and seafaring men as aforesaid may have been led, We do hereby publish and declare our free pardon to all such our subjects, who, repenting of the delusion under which they have acted, shall immediately upon knowledge of this our royal proclamation, withdraw themselves from foreign service, and return to their allegiance to us; and we do declare that all such our subjects, who shall continue in the service of foreign states in disregard and contempt of this our royal proclamation, will not only incur our just displeasure, but are liable to be proceeded against for such contempt, and shall be proceeded against accordingly; and we do hereby declare, that if any such masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, or other seafaring men (being our natural-born subjects) shall be taken in any foreign service by the Algerines, or other Barbary Powers, and carried into slavery, they shall not be reclaimed by us as subjects of Great-Britain.—And we do further notify, that all such our subjects as aforesaid, who have voluntarily entered, or shall enter, or voluntarily continue to serve on board of any ships of war belonging to any foreign state at enmity with us, are and will be guilty of high treason:—and we do by this our royal proclamation declare, that they shall be punished with the utmost severity of the law.

Given at our Court, at the Queen's Palace, the 16th day of October, 1807, and in the 47th year of our reign.—God save the King.



